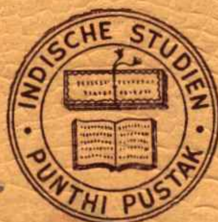
THE TANTRAS
STUDIES ON THEIR RELIGION AND LITERATURE

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., F.A.S.
Retired Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.



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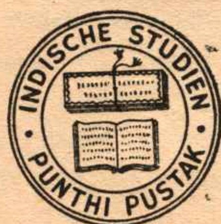
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PREFACE

The Tantra with its vast literature embodying intricate ritualistic details occupies a very important place in the religious life of India. It was regarded as top secret to be expounded by the preceptor to the disciple who had been properly initiated. But provision for learning and teaching the subject as was prevalent even in the 19th century[1] appears to have totally gone out of vogue. As such it is rather difficult to penetrate into it and make a correct assessment of its value. A thorough systematic critical and impartial scrutiny is necessary for this purpose. A superficial and partial acquaintance has often led to a good deal of misconception and apparently exaggerated vituperations. Stray attempts which ought to be thankfully acknowledged of a number of scholars have, of course, thrown welcome light on different aspects of the subject. The labours of Sir John Woodroffe (with the pseudonym Arthur Avalon) who besides bringing out independent treatises and translations introduced the Tantrik Texts Series and published handsome editions of important texts were fruitful in drawing the sympathetic attention of the world of scholars to this much maligned and neglected branch of Indian culture. Unfortunately Sir John's work was scarcely successful in creating the desired enthusiasm and it was not seriously followed up. Though no longer held in definite aversion the tantras are still little-known their importance being scarcely appreciated. In these circumstances my aim in the present book has been to give in broad outlines a general idea of the subject with special reference to the literature and practices known in Bengal. It is intended to serve as an introduction to and inducement for wider and more detailed study. And if it provides any encouragement for further work I shall consider my labour amply rewarded.

The book is primarily based on writings originally published in different Oriental Journals and other publications, and since revised and occasionally reshaped. I am deeply indebted to Prof. Anantalal Thakur M.A. of the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Research

1 William Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*, Edited by Anathnath Basu (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 19, 181, 266-7, 269-70.

and Sanskrit Learning for preparing the Index and rendering help in various other ways in the midst of his multifarious pre-occupations. I am also thankful to Sri Sibdas Chaudhuri, Librarian of the Asiatic Society for his initiative in making arrangements for the publication of the work and to Sri Sankar Bhattacharya, energetic proprietor of the young publishing firm, the Punthi Pustak, for his interest in the book and for undertaking the responsibility of publishing it. Thanks are also due to the Calcutta Oriental Press for doing the printing work neatly. It is regretted that a number of printing mistakes have crept in.

28/3B, SAHANAGAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA-26
FEBRUARY, 1963.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

List of Abbreviations

ABORI—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

ASB—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by H. P. Shastri, Vols. V-VII (Calcutta, 1928-34)

ASS—Anandasram Sanskrit Series, Poona.

Bib. Ind—Bibliotheca Indica Series, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Cat. Cat—Catalogus Catalogorum, Parts I-III, by Theodor Aufrecht, Leipzig, 1891-1903.

CS—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Vols. I-XII (Calcutta, 1895-1917).

GOS—Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

HPR—Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts (New Series), Vols. I-IV, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri (Calcutta, 1898-1911).

HPS—As above.

HPS. Nep—A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Shastri, [Vol. I] (Calcutta, 1905), Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1915).

Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

Ind. Cult.—Indian Culture, Calcutta.

IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

IO—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library, London, Parts I-VII, by J. Eggeling (London, 1887-1904).

IO Catalogue—As above.

JAS—Journal of the Asiatic Society (since 1951).

JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1832-1904).

JAS Bombay—Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay (since 1955).

JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS—Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society, Patna.

JBRS—Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna (since 1945).

JBTS—Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.

JGJRI—Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

JPASB—Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1905-34).

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland.

JRASB—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1935-1950)

L—Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts (First Series), Vols. I-X, by Raja Rajendralal Mitra (Calcutta, 1871-92).

La. Sam—Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat.

Madras—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vols. I-XXVIII (Madras, 1901-37).

Nep—A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Shastri [Vol. I.] (Calcutta, 1905), Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1915).

Nepal Catalogue—As above.

NSP—Nirnaysagar Press, Bombay.

RASB—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, Tantra Manuscripts (Calcutta, 1940).

RV—Ṛgveda.

SBE—Sacred Books of the East.

TSS—Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Ulwar—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar, by P. Peterson (Bombay, 1892).

VSP—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, by Chintaharan Chakravarti (Calcutta, 1935).

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE TANTRAS—WHAT THEY STAND FOR

The word Tantra is given different senses in Sanskrit lexicons. It usually indicates śāstra in general. Thus each one of the various systems of philosophy is called a Tantra. Expressions like Kāpila Tantra or Ṣaṣṭi Tantra, Gautama Tantra etc. to refer respectively to the systems of philosophy attributed to Kapila, Gotama etc. are well-known. Śaṅkarācārya uses the word Vaināiśika Tantra to refer to Kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda of the Buddhists (*Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, II. 2. 32). Sarvatantrasvatantra (versed in all systems of philosophy or rather, all śāstras) was an epithet of the great philosophical scholar Vācaspati Miśra. Jaimini Tantra is the term by which the well-known Tantric commentator Bhāskararāya points to the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy.[1] In the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* of Bhaṭṭoji, Pūrva Tantra and Uttaratantra are used to refer to the systems of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta respectively.

The most popular sense in which the term is used in the present days is to denote a class of literature dealing with mystical and magical worship of various deities. It has, of course, been very loosely taken by some scholars to denote the literature of the mystical worship of female deities (Śakti) alone with which are associated various revolting and apparently depraved and immoral rites. But, as a matter of fact, the tantras deal with the worship of not only female deities but with various male deities as well. And we have actually works known as tantras belonging to various sects, e.g., the Śaivas, the Vaiṣṇavas, the Gāṇapatyas, the Sauras etc. It is true that this literature is generally known among the followers of various sects as āgama as well. But we have chosen to use the term tantra being the more popular one of the two.

Various derivative meanings of the word tantra in this sense have been proposed by modern scholars as well as by older writers and texts. "The word tantra means", says MM. H. P. Sastri, "shortening abbreviation, i.e., reducing into something like algebraic forms mantras or formula that would otherwise run to scores of syllables."[2]

The word has been traced to the roots *tan* (to spread), *tattri* or *tantri* (to explain). According to Prof. S. N. Das Gupta,[3] *Tan* is the original

1 Commentary on the *Saptaśatī*, Introduction.

2 H. P. Sastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, I, Preface, p. xxiv

3 *Philosophical Essays*, pp. 151ff.

form of *tantri* and the meaning 'explaining' is got by narrowing the sense of spreading. Thus, the original connotation of the term is any scientific or systematic discussion on any particular subject.

It is interpreted by Īśānaśivagurudeva Miśra in his *Īśānaśivagurdeva-paddhati* as the śāstra that expounds the six catagories of Śaivism, e.g., *Paśu, pāśa, pati, śakti, vicāra, kriyācaryā*. He derives the word from the root *tatri* 'to understand'.[4]

According to the *Piṅgalāmata*, a manuscript of which, dated 1174 A.D., is found in the Durbar Library of Nepal[5] Āgama is that by which objects around are known and tantra is what spreads and saves.[6] The term *āgama* is also explained as that class of Tantra which is addressed to Pārvatī by Śiva, whereas nigama refers to works spoken by Pārvatī to Śiva. The words are supposed to be formed by the initial letters of *āgata, gata* and *mata* on the one hand and *nirgata, giriśa* and *mata* on the other.[7]

The enumeration of the topics of Āgama, Tantra and Yāmala, as found in some works, give us an imperfect idea of the contents of Tantra literature. Thus according to the Vārāhī Tantra as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word Tantra, Āgama deals with seven topics, e.g., cosmology, destruction, worship of god, sādhana, Puraścaraṇa, the six black rites and four-fold meditation. Yāmala, it says, deals with cosmology, astronomy, division of castes, *yugadharma* etc. MM. H. P. Sastri derives the word from *Yamala* which means union and supposes that the Yāmalas were probably "designed to inculcate the worship of united deities."[8] Tantra is defined as what gives account,

4 शैवेष्वथैषां तु पदार्थकानाम् ।
व्युत्पादकं यद् भवतीह शास्त्रम् ।
तन्त्रीतिधातोरिह धारणार्थात् ॥
Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Ed., Part III, p. 28.

5 H. P. Sastri, Nep, II, p. 69.

6 आज्ञा वस्तु समन्ताच्च गम्यत इत्यागमो मतः ।
... ...
तनुते त्रायते नित्यं तन्त्रमित्थं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

7 आगतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतश्च गिरिजानने ।
मतश्च वासुदेवस्य तस्मादागममुच्यते ॥
निर्गतं गिरिजावक्त्राद् गतश्च गिरिशश्रुतौ ।
मतश्च वासुदेवस्य तस्मान्निगममुच्यते ॥

8 H. P. Sastri, Nep. II, Preface, p. XXII.

among other things, of places of pilgrimage, origin of gods, royal duties, and mythological stories.[9]

It will be noticed that some of the topics mentioned in the above list can in no way be said to be peculiar to the Tantra literature, as they are found to be referred to as the characteristic features of the Purāṇas as well,

A fourfold division of Tantra topics is indicated by the four sections into which some Tantra works are found to have been divided. The *Mataṅga Parameśvarī Tantra* has four pādas or sections entitled *Vidyā, Kriyā, Yoga* and *Caryā.*[10] The commentator Rāmakaṇṭha has *Upāsyā* and *Siddhi* in place of *Yoga* and *Caryā.* The Tantra literature as a whole is also known to have two broad divisions e. g. Kriyā Tantra and Yoga Tantra. A ten-fold division of the topics of the Pañcarātra system is given in *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Ch. XXI).[11] Broadly speaking the vast literature of the Tantras of the various sects is ritualistic in the main. And these rituals have got many interesting features, both from the standpoint of the religious history of India and from the standpoint of comparative religion.

A reference may be made here to the characteristic features of the Tantra form of worship. *Dīkṣā,* or initiation, which is the most essential preliminary of the Tantra from of worship, invests one with the right to follow the injunctions of the Tantras. And every Hindu, irrespective of the caste or sex to which he or she belongs, may be, and until very recently was, initiated with proper ceremonies by the family preceptor, or some of his superior near relatives, into the worship of a particular deity. At the time of initiation one of the many *mantras* with which a deity is worhipped is communicated to the initiated who is to keep it concealed within like the most valued treasure. The *mantra* and the deity appropriate for a particular person are determined by family practices as well as by the personal peculiarities of the person concerned, who is to mutter the *mantra* not only at the time of worship of the deity, but also when observing his daily duties, such as when getting up from bed in the morning, or when taking a bath. When a worshipper has attained to sufficient spiritual development he may undergo superior types of initiation culminating in *pūrṇābhiṣeka.* The form of worship is essentially the same in connection with all deities,

9 It cannot be definitely stated if *Purāṇākhyāna,* one of the topics of tantra, refers to the Purāṇas or to old stories only.

10 The same division is followed in works like the *Padma Tantra* (J.R.A.S. 1911, pp. 951 ff.) ; Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā,* p. 22.

11 Schrader, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

there being only minor differences and peculiarities in the details of procedure which are pointed out in special treatises dealing with particular deities. Two important features of worship are *bhūtaśuddhi* and *nyāsa* which aim at the purification of the body and help the gradual realization of the supreme ideal of the Tantra form of worship, viz. the identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul. The *mantras* with which the deities are invoked consist of one or more syllables indicated by word-symbols which differ in different schools and are explained in special dictionaries. Various rites are prescribed for making the *mantras* efficacious. Of these an extremely important one is the *puraścaraṇa* which consists of five elements: the muttering of the *mantra* for a prescribed number of times, *homa*, *tarpaṇa*, and *abhiṣeka* with the same *mantra*, followed by the feeding of Brāhmaṇas. The worship is offered on an image of the deity, on a consecrated pitcher filled with water on which fruits and mango-sprouts are placed, or on a mystic diagram (*yantra*) which represents the deity. An image is preferred in Bengal, and the diagram elsewhere. A reference may be made here to the Tantra system of *yoga* which provides a complete code of self-discipline. The elaborate rites of worship and the yogic practices often go hand in hand. The internal worship of the Tantras has a close relation with these practices.

Besides normal daily worship there is provision for special festive worship of various deities on different occasions. There are also rituals, especially in connection with Śakti deities, consisting of apparently revolting sensuous practices which are responsible for the disrepute in which Tāntricism in general and Śāktism in particular are usually held in modern times. These are the *ṣaṭkarmas* (the six black rites[11a]), *dūtīyāga* (involving the use of *pañcamakāra*[12] or wine, meat, fish, fried or parched grain and sexual intercourse), and *śavasādhanā* (worship with a corpse).

To make the Tantras complete and self-sufficient Tāntric counterparts of Vedic and Smṛti rites were also added to the Tantra ritual in course

11a *Māraṇa* (destruction), *Uccāṭana* (driving away), *Vaśīkaraṇa* (bringing under control, which would include hypnotism), *Stambhana* (arresting, e.g., staying a storm, striking a man dumb), *Vidveṣaṇa* (causing antagonism between two persons). *Svastyayana* (rites performed with a view to attain welfare in cases of calamity, e.g., disease etc.)—Arthur Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, vol. I, p. 112, f.n. 1.

12 मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यं मुद्रां मैथुनमेव च ।
पञ्चतत्त्वमिदं देवि निर्वाणमुक्तिहेतवे ॥
मकारपञ्चकं देवि देवानामपि दुर्लभम् ॥

—*Guptasādhanatantra*, Paṭala vii (quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*).

of time. Thus we have got elaborate rules for the Tāntric sacrifice in contrast to the Vedic. We have reference even to Tāntric sacraments (*Saṃskāras* like Upanayana etc.). We have Tantric parallels of all Smārta and Purānic rites complete in every detail. The Durbar Library of Nepal has a manuscript of a work called the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* which is represented as forming part of the *Vāthula Mahātantra* by Hṛdayaśiva, disciple of Īśvaraśiva, which appears to prescribe expiatory rites according to the Tantras or Āgamas.[13] A similar work is also the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* of Cakradatta[14] which deals with Tantra form of expiatory, funeral and other rites.

The most interesting development appears to be the utilization of Vedic mantras in apparently revolting Tantric rites, e.g., *pañcatattva-śodhana* or the purification of the five *tattvas*, viz., *madya* (wine), *māṃsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (fried grain) and *maithuma* (sexual inter-course). Prescription for this is met with in a number of Tantra digests: the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda (16th-17th century), the *Tārārahasya* of Brahmānanda (16th century), the *Śyāmārahasya* of Pūrṇānanda (16th century) and the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* of Prāṇakṛṣṇa and Rāmatoṣaṇa (19th century).

As authorities for the prescription the *Tantrasāra* refers to the *Svatantratantra*, the *Śyāmārahasya* to the *Bhairavatantra* and the *Prāṅatoṣiṇī* to the *Uttaratantara*. The ground for the prescription is, however, not stated and it is difficult to discover any relation between the mantras, at least most of them, and the rites.

It is gathered from these digests that the following mantras are to be used in this connection:—

प्र तद्विष्णुः स्तवते वीर्येण (Ṛ.V. I, 154. 2)—meat.

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे (Ṛ.V. VII. 59. 12)—fish.

तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् (Ṛ.V. I. 22. 20)—mudrā[15].

तद्विप्रासो विपन्यवो (Ṛ.V. I. 22. 21)—mudrā[15].

हंसः शुचिसद्वसुरन्तरीक्षम् (Ṛ.V. IV. 40. 5)—madya[16].

13 H.P. Sastri, Nep., I. p. 215.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 1, 76, 77.

15 According to the *Śyāmārahasya* and the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* the two mantras are required for Mudrā while according to the *Tārārahasya* the second one of the two—the only one quoted by it—is required for meat-purification.

16 Mentioned in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* on the authority of the *Uttaratantra* which it quotes.

विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु (RV. X. 184. 1)—Śakti or woman for sexual intercourse[17].

गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि (RV. X. 184. 2)—Śakti or womon for sexual intercourse[17].

The *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (III. 30) mentions all the above seven mantras in connection with the offering of *Viśeṣārghya*, containing wine in a Tantric worship. It prescribes an additional mantra (आर्द्रं ज्वलति—*Taittirtya Āraṇyaka*—X. 1. 15) for drinking wine on the occasion.

The Tantric application of the Śrīsūkta (RV. I. 165) for the attainment of prosperity is described in two manuscripts belonging to the Asiatic Society. We have also reference here to the use of the mantras of this hymn in connenction with the worship of Lakṣmī and the performance of *nyāsas* (consecrating different parts of the body with names of deities).

The *Sarasvatīrahasyopaniṣad* indicates the Tantric use of as many as ten Vedic mantras of Sarasvatī and Vāk.

It may be noted that very few other Vedic mantras are known to be used similarly in the rituals of the Tantras. Provision has been made for the performance of a number of Vedic rites like the sacraments and the *homa* (sacrifice) to be done strictly in accordance with Tantric rules. And there are Tantric adaptations of a number of Vedic mantras. The different *gāyatrī* mantras assigned to different deities are nothing but Tantric incantations in which a number of words of the famous *gāyatrī* of the Ṛgveda (III. 62. 10) are incorporated[18]. We also come across a Tantric adaptation of the well-known *Svastivācana* mantra (ṚV. I. 89. 6):

स्वस्ति न इन्द्रो वृद्धश्रवाः
स्वस्ति नः पूषा विश्ववेदाः ।
स्वस्ति नस्तार्क्ष्योऽरिष्टनेमिः
स्वस्ति नो बृहस्पतिर्दधातु ।

The form in which the above mantra is used in Tantric worship is quoted below for comparison with the Vedic original:—

ह्रीं ह्रूं स्वस्ति नः कात्यायनी अपर्णा
ह्रूं स्वस्ति नः काली मेधामृतमयी ।
ह्रौं स्वस्ति नः प्रत्यङ्गिरा देवता दधातु ॥

17 Mentioned only in the *Śyāmārahasya* and the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* without any reference to the purpose which seems to be purification of Śakti. Their use in connection with the *garbhādhāna* ceremony is provided for in old works.

18 Cf. त्रिपुरायै विद्महे भैरव्यै धीमहि तन्नो देवी प्रचोदयात्—Gāyatrī of Bhairavī.

CHAPTER II

ANTIQUITY OF TĀNTRICISM

Whatever be the age of the Tantras and however varying may be the views regarding their authority it will be seen that rites closely similar to those that are found in these works have in many cases a hoary antiquity. In fact some of them in one form or other seem to have come down from primitive times and are known to be prevalent even in the present days among people with a primitive culture not in the least affected by modern civilisation and culture. And many of them almost seem to have a universal character being popular among peoples distantly situated and having no cultural or ethnic affinity. It is true that we miss in these the philosophy and spiritual significance, associated at least in a later stage with Tāntricism in India, but still the close outward similarity would naturally induce one to put them under the same class or type. An attempt is made here to put together some references to Tāntricism among ancient peoples and in admittedly old literary works. It will be seen that Tāntricism—if not the Tantras—had a long history of uninterrupted popularity in India.

Tāntricism—its universal character—its prevalence among primitive peoples

The parallels of Tāntric Ṣaṭkarmas (the six magical rites), the use of charms and amulets, the revolting sexual rites[1] of the Kaulas, use of intoxicating drugs for producing ecstasy, the belief in the efficacy of *mantras* consisting sometimes of apparently unmeaning syllables are found among various primitive peoples. As a matter of fact some of these constituted essential parts of primitive religion all the world over.

The practice of what is called sympathetic magic is known to have been very widely prevalent in old days. It was by this means that attempts were made to acquire control over other persons.[2]

Enemies were destroyed or injured with the help of imitative magic. "Perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is," says Dr. Frazer, "the attempt which has been made

1 The antiquity of this aspect of Tantric worship is found to have been dealt with by M. Bose in his *Post-Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (Calcutta University, 1930), pp. 98ff.

2 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*. I, pp. 262ff.

by many peoples in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him."[3]

"The use of small figures of wax or other plastic materials fashioned with incantations in the likeness of some enemy and then pierced with nails and pins, or melted before the fire, that their human counterpart may by these means be made to suffer all kinds of torment" is known to have been prevalent among Semetic peoples.[4] It was considered more effective to obtain some portion of the victim's nails or hair......as an additional connection whereby the wax figures may be brought into still closer affinity with its prototype." It has been supposed by Dr. J. J. Modi that injunctions contained in the Vendidad of the Iranians to bury nails and hair to avoid future calamities was due to the prevalence of similar customs among them.[5] As a matter of fact the Persian *Zarthus-t-nameh* relates how the enemies of Zoroaster accused him of sorcery by secretly placing hair, nails and such other impurities in his room and got him imprisoned for the offence. This clearly points to the use of these things as instruments of magic.

The use of charms and amulets is known to have been a very wide-spread custom among primitive peoples of different ages and lands.[6] Rings were used with the object of preventing the entrance of evil spirits into the body.[7]

We have long and nauseating accounts of rank and unmixed sensualism forming part of religious observances in many a land. These undoubtedly give a rude shock to the modern civilised notions of religion and morality.

Impure and revolting practices believed to have religious significance clustered round the worship of Pan in Greece and later Rome as also in the islands of the southern Pacific Ocean.[8]

Sex-worship was practised frankly and openly by primitive people all the world over and it is supposed that with the advance of civilisation the worship came to be carried on by means of symbolism. This worship has been shown to be so general and wide-spread that it is to be regarded as part of the general evolution of the human mind; it

3 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, London, 1900, vol. I, pp. 10ff.
4 Campbell Thomson, *Semitic Magic: Its origin and development*, pp. 142-143.
5 *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. viii, pp. 557ff.
6 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii, pp. 392ff.
7 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol, I, pp. 402ff.
8 Brown, *Sex-worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races*. pp. 27-28.

seems to be indigenous with the race rather than an isolated or exceptional circumstance.[9]

E. H. Hartland in a detailed and informative article[10] on Phallism deals with the subject in a sympathetic tone. He shows how sex-worship forms a part of the history of religion and how it is found to exist in different strata of culture.

Wall has gone so far as to find traces, direct or indirect, of sex-worship in almost all kinds of religious practices. "All religions are based on sex," says he, "some like the ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman or the modern Brahmanic worship of Śiva more coarsely so, according to modern civilised thought ; others like the Christian religion more obscurely so."[11]

The use of wine and various other intoxicating drugs is supposed to have been one of the various means adopted by primitive peoples with a view to produce ecstasy and other morbid exaltation for religious ends.[12] Different kinds of bodily exercises resembling the *mudrās*, *āsanas* and *nyāsas* of the Tantras, were also undertaken for this purpose.[13]

The power of the word is believed to be very marked in all systems of magic, Sometimes names of inexplicable and perhaps esoteric character are used. This is said to be in accordance with the well-known rule that in magic a mysterious name is the most potent of all.[14]

Mention may be made of this belief in the efficacy of words among ancient Iranians. "Peculiar words", says Geiger, "were thought peculiarly eficacious in certain cases and regarded as a counter charm able to repel the attacks of evil spirits."[15]

It is thus abundantly clear that rites similar to many of those prescribed in the Tantras were quite well-known among primitive peoples of all countries. What we have got to determine is when and how it was that these rites were first introduced into India and were accepted by the Indian Aryans as part of their elaborate religious observances.

According to some scholars, some at least of these or similar ones were known to the Dravidian and other Non-Aryan peoples of India from whom they were borrowed by the Aryans and systematised in the Tantras.

9 Brown, *Sex-worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races*, pp. 23, 29-30.
10 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ix, pp. 815-31.
11 Wall, *Sex and Sex-worship*, p. 2.
12 Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, Third edition, London, vol. II, pp. 410ff., 416ff.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 419ff.
14 Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 393.
15 Geiger, *Civilisation of Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, p. 161.

Tāntricism in pre-historic India

Traces of some aspects of Tāntricism are suspected to be found in India as early as the Pre-historic period. Thus, Bruce Foote is said to have met with objects supposed by him to be Phalli among the Neolithic remains brought to light by him in the Deccan.[16]

According to Shama Sastri, the Tantra form of worship may be traced back in India as early as the first millennium B.C. Thus, he seeks to show that the symbols which admittedly old coins (supposed to be earlier than even the 6th or 7th century B.C.) bear and of which no satisfactory explanation could be suggested by Western scholars are nothing but Tāntric hieroglyphics.[17] These, he shows, are the origin of the Devanāgarī alphabets. He is also of opinion that though some of the Tantras are comparatively modern they undoubtedly embody old tradition.[18] The Tāntric Upaniṣads like the *Tripuropaniṣad*, he says, containing the description of Tantra hieroglyphics only reproduce a tradition of bygone ages.[19]

Tāntricism in the Vedas

Elements of the various Tantra rites are distinctly traceable to the Vedic times, though there is a great controversy among scholars of old as regards the question whether Tantras had a Vedic origin or not. It is not only in the Atharvaveda—one of the latest of the Vedic saṃhitās—that we meet with these elements. They are to be found even in the earliest of the Vedic works, *e.g.*, the Ṛgveda, as also in other parts of the Vedic literature. Tāntricism as a system may not have been developed at that time. But many of the rites that went to constitute the system at a later time are found scattered in different parts of the Vedic literature in their crudest forms.

Of course many of the practices which were fully developed in the Tantras and Yoga philosophy are absent in the Vedic period. The elaborate rules concerning the regulation of breath and the high importance attached to it in Yoga have scarcely any trace in the Vedas. Nor is there any clear reference in the Vedic literature to the various sitting and ritualistic postures mentioned in the Tantras.[20]

16 Foote, *Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, Madras, 1916, pp. 20, 61, 139; K. R. Subranian, Origin of Śaivism and its History in the Tamil Land, Madras, 1929, p. 23. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Stone Age in India* (Madras University).

17 *J.A.S.B.*, vol. iv, p. 628.

18 *Ind. Ant*,, 1906, pp. 277ff.

19 *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, pp. 274-276.

20 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

The upholders of the Tantras have however gone to the extent of attempting to demonstrate the Vedic origin of everything found in the Tantras. They had therefore to resort occasionally to considerable twisting and far-fetchedness to find traces of various rites connected with the Tantras in the Vedas.

✓ The orthodox view is that the Tantras originated from the Saubhāgya-kāṇḍa of the Atharva-Veda. Some of the Tantra works are found to record this in definite terms. The Kālīkulārṇava Tantra has got two lines in the beginning stating "Now Devī says in the Ātharvaṇa Saṃhitā."[21] This introduction of the work as an Ātharvaṇa-saṃhitā, clearly hints at the close connection of the Atharvaveda with this Tantra.

✓ The Rudrayāmala (chap. xvii) calls Mahādevī Atharvaveda-śākhinī, and Buddheśvarī though curiously the worship of the goddess is, in the same breath, definitely put down as Veda-bahiṣkṛta or un-vedic.

✓ In the opinion of the great scholar Bhāskararāya, the Tantras came as a sequel to the Upaniṣad section of the Vedas as the Śrauta Sūtras and Dharma Saṃhitās were to the first portion of the Vedic literature.[21a] The tāntric Upaniṣads[22] (*e.g.*, Kaula, Rudra, etc.) are supposed to maintain the direct connection of the Vedas with the Tantras.

✓ The Yantra-Cintāmaṇi[23] of Dāmodara is eulogised in the beginning of the work as being the quintessence of the Atharvaveda. The followers of the Pañcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism trace the origin of the system to an unknown Vedic school called the *ekāyana śākhā* (*Kalpataruparimala* under *Brahma Sūtra*, II. 2. 42).

According to the Kulārṇava tantra (II. 10) even Kaula rites, which have been the object of abject criticism at the hands of various scholars, ancient or modern, are represented as being the essence of the Vedas. In fact Kulaśāstra has been described as *Vedātmaka* (II. 85) or Vedic in spirit. Vedic authorities are also cited (II. 140-141) in justification of Kaula rites.

Attempts have been made to trace tāntric mantras consisting of seemingly unmeaning monosyllabic sounds to the Vedas.[24] The practice of worshipping symbolical diagrams (*yantras, cakras*) of the tantras has

21 H.P. Sastri, Nep. I, p. 160.

21a Setubandha, A.S.S., p. 5.

22 For these see the Minor Upaniṣads published by the Adyar Library, Madras.

23 A MS. of this work is in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. See beginning of Pīṭhikā II.

24 Commentary of Naṭānandanatha on the Kāmakalāvilāsa, p. 13 of Arthur Avalon's edition.

also been traced to the Vedas (*e.g.* Atharvaveda, Taittirīya Āraṇyaka).[25] Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on verse 32 of the *Saundarya-laharī* of Śaṅkara has quoted extracts from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and explained them as having reference to Śrīvidyā.[26]

Even if one feels disinclined to set much value on the above views of the advocates of tāntricism as being biassed it must be admitted that any disinterested scholar is sure to find at least some traces of tāntricism in the Vedas. In fact the ground for the growth of tāntricism was almost ready at the time of the Vedas.

Thus traces of monosyllabic and seemingly unmeaning mantras on the importance of which the Tantras lay definite emphasis are met with in the Vedic literature. 'The use of harsh words like *phaṭ*', says Keith, 'is mentioned possibly as early as the Ṛgveda.'[27] The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (iv. 27) mentions a distinct tāntric charm which according to Sāyaṇa pertains to Abhicāra rites. This charm consists of words like Khaṭ, Phaṭ, Kaṭ, etc. Phaṭ is also found mentioned in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (vii. 3). Symbolising in terms of the letters of the alphabet may be clearly traced to the Hiṅkāropāsanā and Oṅkāropāsanā found in the Upaniṣads (Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad).

Sensualism in connection with religious rites is also met with in the Vedas. Vāmadevya Upāsanā may be cited as an instance in point.[28] It is found to be frequently referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa symbolically. According to the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (II. 3. 7. 3) neither the seed of man nor the blood of woman should be despised as they are forms of Āditya and Agni respectively. There are other Vedic rites as well, which though on the face of them, have nothing to do with sex worship, have been interpreted in that light.[29]

The use of liquor for sacrificial purposes in Vedic times was not unknown. Spirituous liquor was offered in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice to Indra, Aśvin and Sarasvatī.[30] It was also used in the Vājapeya sacrifice.[31] Besides, the intoxicating effect of Soma juice is quite well-known. The effect of the drinking of soma juice is "mada" or intoxication (Ṛg. II. 19. 1). The use of the juice expressly for getting intoxicated led Eggeling to make the statement with reference to the Atirātra

25 R. Shamasastri, *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, pp. 262-267.
26 Govt. Oriental Library Series Edition, Mysore, pp. 100-109.
27 Keith, *op. cit.* p. 356.
28 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, II. 13, 1-2.
29 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 1, 18, 20, 21 etc.
30 *Ibid.*, v. 4. 5, 19ff.
31 *Ibid.*, v. I, 2, 10-19.

sacrifice that 'it partook largely of the character of a regular nocturnal carousal.'[32]

Various were the animals sacrificed in Vedic sacrifices. Man, horse, bull, ram and he-goat are mentioned in this connection.[33] Horses were killed in the Aśvamedha. It is curious that bulls that were held sacred in later times were not exempted. And these are known to have been sacrificed in the Gomedha and Śūlagava. And the meat was taken at least in some cases at the end of the sacrifice. Even provision was made for taking beef.[34] Human beings are said to have been killed along with other animals in the Sarvamedha or All-Animals-Sacrifice. Self-immolation was practised in the Sarva-yajña.

Phallism is supposed by some to be as old as the Ṛgveda (vii. 21, 3, 5) where the Asuras are referred to as *śiśnadevas* or those that regard phallus as deities. But the meaning of the term is not free from doubt.[35]

The beginnings of the worship of female deities—the Śakti cult—an important characteristic of the tantra form of worship is also traced to the Vedas.

Traces of some of the Saṭ-karmas of the Tantras are also distinctly met with in different parts of the Vedic literature. Two hymns of the Ṛgveda (x. 145, 159) explicitly refer to the practice of removing co-wives and thereby attaining supreme sway over the husband. The Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra (ix. 5-8, 9) in explaining the application of these hymns has made this quite clear. Another hymn (Ṛg. x. 162) is nothing but a curative spell intended to drive away disease. Hymns like i. 191 and vii. 50 are charms which are intended to serve as antidotes against poison and those like vi. 52 and vii. 104 are charms which aim at putting away demons and have therefore some similarity with *māraṇa* or destructive rites of the Tantras. Such practices were also known at the times of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (vii. 3), Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (ix. 4, 39) and Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (iv. 27).

The Taittirīya Saṃhitā (ii. 3, 1) prescribes a sacrifice called Sāṃgrahaṇī by which persons can be won over to one's side. Sāyaṇa in explaining the significance of the term has stated how by this sacrifice one could bring under one's control the prominent persons of the family or the village as also wives, sisters and mothers, who thus brought under control, would wait upon him. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 3, 10)

32 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, S.B.E. vol. xli, Introduction, p. xviii.

33 *Ibid.*, S.B.E, vol. xli, pp. 165f.

34 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iv. 8, 34.

35 Muir, Sanskrit texts, vol. iv. pp. 345f.

relates how Sītā, daughter of Prajāpati, resorted to a sorcery practice to win the heart of Soma. These practices are similar to *Vaśīkaraṇa* of the Tantras.

The rites of the Atharvaveda more than those of any other Veda have in many cases a close and striking similarity to those of the Tantras. The contents of the Atharvaveda are primarily magic, charm and sorcery, which also form not an insignificant part of the Tantras. And Bloomfield's arrangement of the hymns of the Atharvaveda into fourteen classes in accordance with their subject matter,[36] as also the applications of them as noted in the Kauśika Sūtra, reveal how a large portion of its contents has its analogue in the Tantras. Thus the *abhicāra, strīkarma, sāṃmanasya, pauṣṭika* and other sorcery rites of which we get references in the Atharvaveda are quite common in the Tantras.

Some of the Atharvanic practices of witchcraft are almost identical with similar practices of the Tantras. Some of the hymns of the Atharvaveda are recited with a view to excite love in the heart of a woman. The most important symbolical practice which is to accompany the recital of such a hymn (AV, iii. 25) is thus described in the Kauśika Sūtra (35. 28): "By means of darbhyuṣa bow, with a bow-string made of hemp, an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived form an owl and whose shaft is made of black *ala* wood, the lover pierces the heart of the pictorial representation of a woman." The Tantras are also found to prescribe a similar practice with an identical object in view.[37]

The use of protective amulets also seems to have been quite popular at the time of the Atharvaveda (AV, ii. 11, II vīii. 5, x. 6 ; Kauśika Sūtra 19, 22-27 ; 42, 22-43. 1).

Tāntricism in Buddhist Literature

Various revolting and mystic practices that seem to have been observed by different religious sects for spiritual uplift in and previous to the time of the Buddha, are referred to in Buddhist canonical works in Pāli. Some of these practices are apparently tāntric in character.

The Buddhist canonical texts in Pali in several places refer to systems of thought and rituals which are apparently of the Tantra type but for the name. Buddha mentions the *pañca-kāma-guṅa-diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbāna-vāda*[38] which is explained as an opinion according to which the soul attains Nirvāṇa through the full indulgence of the five

36 Atharvaveda. Grundriss Series, pp. 57ff.

37 *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, pp. 270ff.

38 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. 49, 50.

pleasures of the sense.[39] Some at least of the Buddhist and Brahmanic Tāntric followers of a later age were exactly of the view referred to by the Buddha as an established doctrine upheld by a section of the people in his time.

The *Majjhima Nikāya* (*Culladhammasamādāna Sutta*—vol. I, p. 305) sets forth the views of a class of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas according to whom no fault would attach to acts of lust. It is described how these people took pleasure in the company of youthful female ascetics. Of course it is not clear from the text as to whether these ascetics like the later day tāntrics took part in sensual enjoyment with a desire for religious merit. The *Kathāvatthu*[40] however throws some welcome light on this point in that it refers to *Maithuna* (sensual enjoyment) as *dhamma* which probably means a religious act.

The use of skulls etc. by a class of people like later day followers of tāntricism was known at this time as is testified to by a passage in the *Cullavagga*[41] which refers to a Bhikkhu "who had taken upon himself to wear or use nothing except what he could procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries" and who "went on his rounds for alms carrying a bowl made out of a skull." Expression is given to a sense of surprise at the conduct of this class in the words: 'How can the Sākyaputtiya Samanas carry about bowls made out of skulls as the devil-worshippers (*Piśācillikā*) do?'

That cemeteries were resorted to by some seekers after religious merit is clear from the *Majjhima Nikāya.* Buddha himself in his early days is here stated to have stayed in a cemetery with charred bones as his pillow.[42]

Magical rites like the *ṣaṭ-karmas* of the Tantras are also known to have had some amount of popularity at that time. We learn from the *Tevijjia Sutta* that there were some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who lived by teaching spells for preserving the body and for warding off wounds.

39 Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 337.

40 *Kathāvatthu*, xxiii. 1-2: *Ekādhippāyena methuno dhammo sevitabbo. Arhantānaṃ vaṇṇena amanussā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevanti.* I am indebted for these references to Barua's paper on *Maśkari Gosāla's Early Life* (*Calcutta Review*, June 1927, pp. 362-63).

41 V., 10, 2, S.B.E. vol. XX, p. 89. For this as also for some other references from Buddhist literature I am indebted to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya who has incidentally dealt with the history of Tantricism among the Buddhists in his Introduction to *Sādhana-mālā* (Vol. II) and in his paper *A Peep into Vajrayāna* (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Vol. X).

42 Majjhima, I. 79. Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. I, p. 35.

We are further told that some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas lived by teaching spells to procure prosperity or to cause adversity, to remove sterility, to produce dumbness, locked-jaw and deformity or deafness.[43] Further still we are told how some lived by teaching rituals for imparting virility and rendering impotent through medicines.[44]

The *Brahmajāla Sutta* refers to the practice of drawing blood from one's knee as a sacrifice to the gods[45] and of using charms to make people lucky or unlucky.[46] It is from the same *Sutta* that we learn that there were certain gods debauched by pleasure[47] and that there were recluses or Brāhmaṇas who thought that full enjoyment and possession of the pleasures of sense lead to Nirvāṇa.[48]

Tāntricism in Jain Literature

In the Jain canonical works in Prākṛt too we meet with traces of Tantricism. In the Sthānāṅga Sūtra (iv. 4) Mahāvira refers to the Sāya-vādins who are supposed to have been sensulists.[49] The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra has reference to curative spells.[50] The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (II. 2) mentions men who practise incantations (*ātharvaṇi*) and conjuring to make one happy or miserable.[51]

Tāntricism in Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇas, etc.

Detractors of Tantra rites are found inclined to read denunciation of Tāntricism in early *Dharmasūtras* and *Saṃhitās* like those of Āpastamba, Manu, Yājñavalkaya etc. (See introductory portions of Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*). Commentators interpert particular sūtras of the *Brahma Sūtra* (11. 2, 34) as having reference to Tāntricism *e.g.* Śaivaism, Pāñcarātraism, etc. The efficacy of *mantra* and drugs for the attainment of perfection has been mentioned by Patañjali in his Yogasūtra (iv. 1).

Many a Purāṇa work of which the dates have not been definitely ascertained refer to the tantras generally or to particular tantra rites. Purāṇas like Devī, Kālikā and Liṅga explicitly deal with Tantra worship. In the *Padma Purāṇa* (Svarga Khaṇḍa, chapter xxvii) and Kālikāpurāṇa

43 *Buddhist Suttas*, Translated by Rhys Davids, S.B.E. xi. p. 196, 199.
44 *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
45 *Brahmajāla Sutta*, 21, Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 17.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
49 Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 196-197, 337.
50 S.B.E., XLV, p. 103.
51 *Jainasūtras*, S.B.E., XLV. p. 366.

(chapter liv) are found elaborate descriptions of *ṣaṭ cakras* of the tantras. Kūrma and some other Purāṇas, however, are found to decry the tantras. There are passages in the Mahābhārata, some interpolated, referring to phallic worship of Śiva as well as to a number of other Tantric deities. The use of wine and meat in the worship of the river-goddess Gaṅgā is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (*Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, LII. 89).

Tāntricism in early secular works

Secular works, some of which are evidently quite early, are also found incidentally to refer to Tantra rites confirming their high popularity and wide prevalence. We shall refer to only a few of these.

Various charms and incantations for the stupefacation of beings are described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (xiv. 3). Here we have reference to the offering of sacrifices in cremation grounds on the 14th day of the dark half of the month. Of deities to whom oblations were made mention may be made of such queer names as Amila, Kimila, Vayujara etc.

The *Lalitavistara*[52] (chapter xii) refers to the Buddha's surpassing knowledge in *nigama* along with other branches of learning. In chapter xvii it incidentally throws light on some of the religious practices of the time of the Buddha[53]. Though the sense is not quite clear it seems to refer to the use of well-scrutinised mantras and the use of wine and meat for religious purposes. The carrying of skulls and *Khaṭvāṅgas* is also referred to. *Nikumbha-sādhana* as one of the practices for the attainment of salvation is meniioned. And we learn from it that the worship to gods and goddesses (*Mātṛ, Devī, Kātyāyanī*) was offered at pasture lands and cemeteries,

The tantric goddess Kālī is represented by Aśvaghoṣa as having been known in the time of the Buddha. Thus we read in the Chinese translation of Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita*[54]:

"Now, Māra had an aunt-attendant whose name was *Ma-kia-ka-li* (*Mahā kālī*), 1084, who held a skull dish in her hands, and stood in front of Bodhisattva, and with every kind of winsome gesture, tempted him to lust, 1085."

52 Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 179.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 312-13.

54 S.B.E., vol. xix, p. 153. In the published Sanskrit text the goddess is called *Meghakālī* (xiii, 49).

The attendants of Māra who attacked Buddha are stated to have carried weapons similar to those possessed by Śivaite gods (*e.g.*, Triśūla, Khaṭvāṅga)[55]. It is thus quite clear that at least a little before the time of Aśvaghoṣa (*circa* 1st century A.D.) deities very similar to Tāntric deities were known.

55 *Buddhacarita*, xiii. 21. 26.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE TANTRAS

Authorship of the Tantras

Orthodox people attribute a divine origin to the Tantras and thus claim for them a hoary antiquity. This view is, however, not found to have been universally accepted even by the orthodox themselves. There seems to have been a lurking suspicion with regard to the propriety of that claim, some even going to the extent of dubbing at least a part of them as modern. Modern scholars also have questioned the antiquity of Tantra works in general. It is argued that Tantra as a class of literature is not found mentioned in any early work. Lists mentioning various branches of learning also do not include the name Tantra.

It is true Purāṇa works (like the *Kūrma Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Tantrādhikāri-nirṇaya)* have given elaborate descriptions of the origin of the Tantras and even the detractors of the Tantras have read denunciation of tantricism, as already pointed out, in admittedly old Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa works[1].

Pāśupata and Pañcarātra systems are found to have been mentioned by name in some of the Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra works. They are referred to in the Bṛhatparāsara, Viṣṇudharmottara, Yogiyājñavalkya, etc[2].

These reference to the Tantras in some of the Purāṇas do not, however, help us in any way in deciding the relative antiquity of the Purāṇas and the Tantras. For some of the Tantra works are also found to refer to the Purāṇas both collectively and individually. The term *aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa* is found to occur in Tantra works (e.g., Nirvāṇa Tantra, Paṭala IX). Besides elaborate rules that are to be observed in reciting the Devīmāhātmya section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa are attributed to the Kātyāyanī and the Vārāhī Tantras.

And though some works of the Tantra system may be fairly old, most of them cannot be supposed to be so. On the other hand, many of them are palpably very modern. Thus though the earliest of the Tantra works may possibly belong to the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, the latest of them come down as late as even the 18th or 19th century. As a matter of fact no particular age is possible to be assigned to the

1 Tantrādhikāri-nirṇaya of Bhattoji Dīkṣita.

2 Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā*, Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series, pp. 16 and 18.

Tantra literature which took a long period of time to develop ; the age of each individual work has to be determined on the basis of the available evidence, both internal and external.

Some of the tantra works are undoubtedly very old. Manuscripts in Gupta characters of several Tantra texts have been found. Even the Sarvajñānottara Tantra, which seems to be a comparatively later work having been composed when other Tantras had been completed has a fragmentary manuscript in Gupta characters.[3] A manuscript of the Kubjikā Tantra in Gupta characters is in the Manuscripts Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A manuscript of the Niśvāsa-saṁhitā in the Durbar Library of Nepal is written in the transitional Gupta characters.[4] In the opinion of MM. H. P. Sastri this manuscript may be a century older than the Cambridge manuscript of the Parameśvarī Tantra which was copied in 859 A.D.[5] At the end of the manuscript of the Saurasaṃhitā in the Durbar Library of Nepal there are two leaves stated to be in Gupta characters giving a number of tantra formulæ.[6]

The Śaiva āgamas of the South are mentioned as early as the time of the Pallava king Rājasiṃhavarman (6th century) in his Kailāsanātha temple inscription.[7] Tamil Śaiva poets of the 9th-10th centuries and Kashmir Śaiva works of the same period also refer to these works.[8] Besides mentioning the views of a few Tantra sects, as Śaṅkarācārya is supposed to have done by his commentators commenting on the *Vedānta-sūtra* (II. 2, 7-8), he has referred to sixty-five Tantras in his *Ānandalaharī* (v. 31) pointing to one at least by name, e.g. the *Svatantra Tantra.* It has been shown by P. C. Bagchi (I.H.Q., V, pp. 754ff ; VI, pp. 97ff.) on the basis of epigraphic records that a number of tantric texts were introduced into Kambuj as early as the beginning of the 9th century, thus indirectly proving their antiquity.

Of the Buddhist Tantras also some at least are fairly old. Buddhist Dhāraṇīs may be looked upon as precursors of the Tantras, and the Suraṃgama-sūtra, which Fa-Hian is said to have repeated for his

3 H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, I, p. 85.

4 H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, I, pp. 10 and 137; Preface, p. lxxvii.

5 Bendal, *Cambridge Catalogue*, p. 27.

6 H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, I, Preface, p. lxxvi. Of other old Tantra MSS. copied as early as the 10th, 11th or 12th century in the Durbar Library of Nepal, cf. H. P. Sastri, Nepal Catalogue, I, Preface, pp. lxxvi and lxxix. The MS. of the Saurasaṃhitā was copied in the 10th century (*op. cit.*, p. lxxvi), that of the Kiraṇa Tantra in 924 A.D. (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 99), that of the Jayākhyasaṃhitā in 1187 AD. (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 76).

7 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I. No. 24, verse 5; No. 25 (36, 37).

8 Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 193.

protection, contained the most complete list of Dhāraṇīs. Considering that the book was held in reverence by Fa-Hian in the 5th century, Beal assigned it to a period not later than the 1st century.[9] We may thus find traces of the beginning of the Buddhist Tantras as early as the 1st century of the Christian era. According to Yuan-Chwang the Dhāraṇī or Vidyādhara-piṭaka belonging to the mantrayāna is as old as the Mahāsāṁghikas (1st-2nd century A.D.).[10] Several Buddhist Tantra works are known to have existed as early as the 5th or 6th century A.D. Thus the Horiuzi palm-leaf MSS. in Japan contain besides Dhāraṇīs five Tantras.

Amoghavajra, a śramaṇa of North India and a Brahmin by caste who resided in China between 746 and 771 A.D., translated 77 works including *Uṣṇīṣacarkravarti Tantra*, *Garuḍa-garbhaga Tantra*, and *Vajrakumāra Tantra*.[11] Atīśa Dīpaṅkara was proficient, among other things, in the four classes of Tantras.[12] Padmasambhava of Udyāna was in charge of the tāntrika part of Buddhist liturgy.[13]

Tāranātha throws light on the dates of some of the Buddhist tantras. He gives the names of some persons who, according to him, introduced particular tantras. In a general way he says that Asaṅga, elder brother of Vasubandhu, introduced Tantras into Buddhism and that they were handed down in the most secret manner possible up to the time of Dharmakīrti (600-615 A.D.).[14] In another place he associates particular names with particular works. Thus, we are told that Saraha introduced the *Buddhakapāla Tantra*, Luipā the *Yoginīsañcaryā*, Kambala and Padmavajra the *Hevajra Tantra*, Kṛṣṇācārya the *Samputatilaka*, Lalitavajra the three divisions of the *Kṛṣṇayamāri Tantra*, Gambhiravajra the *Mahāmāyā*, and one Pito the *Kālacakra*.[15]

T. Gopinath Rao[16] has shown that many works of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava āgama have referred to things and persons belonging to 7th-11th centuries so that they cannot be very old. He however supposes that they were probably based on older works. In the *Uttara-Kāraṇāgama* of the Śaivas, says he, it is laid down that on the 7th day of the

9 Introduction to Beal's *Fa-Hian*, p. lxxii.

10 Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, 165; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 6.

11 Nanjio, *Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka*, App. II, p. 445.

12 S. C. Das, *J.B.T.S.*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 8.

13 *loc. cit.*

14 Schiefner, *Geschichte der Buddisimus*, p. 201.

15 *op. cit.*, p. 275f. B. Bhattacharya has sought to show that these people flourished in the 7th-8th centuries (*J.B.O.R.S.*, xiv, p. 343).

16 T. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part I, Introduction, Section xvi, pp. 55ff.

Mahotsava of Śiva the impalement of the Jains, said to have been carried out at the instance of the Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandha, ought to be celebrated. This Śaiva saint, however, is known to have flourished in the middle of the 7th century A.D. so that the work cannot be earlier than that period. This work as also many other works of Śaivāgama prescribe the recitation of the Dravida Vedas, i.e., the Devārāma hymns composed by Tirujñānasambandha, Vāgīśa and Sundaramūrti, the last of whom lived not earlier than the 9th century. The prose recension of the *Vaikhanasāgama* is perhaps the oldest amongst the āgamas of the Vaiṣṇavas. The metrical *Vaikhānasāgama* of the Vaiṣṇavas requires the Draviḍa Vedas, i.e., Prabandhas of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas or Alvars (8th or 9th century) to be sung in the front of divine processions. The *Īśvarasaṃhitā* of the Pañcarātra mentions the saint Saṭhakopa (800 A.D.) and Ācarya Rāmānūja (1000 A.D.). The *Bṛhad-Brahmasaṃhitā* also mentions the latter.

According to some scholars the cult of Tārā, a very important tantric goddess in later days, is not very old. If this conclusion proves to be correct it would follow that works or rather portions of works dealing with the worship of Tārā must not also be very old. Pandit Hirananda Sastri[17] depending on the finds of icons in old sites concludes that the cult of Tārā cannot be older than the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era. In his opinion the statement that Nāgārjuna revived the cult of Ekajaṭā, a form of Tārā, in the country of Bhoṭa (Tibet) should be taken with an amount of caution. It may be that the name of the well-known Buddhist reformer was associated with Tārā worship with a view to carry weight. Or it may be that this Nāgārjuna was a different person altogether.

Kulācāra section of the Tantras is stated by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinava Gupta to have been introduced by Matsyendranātha and Mīnanātha.[18] Gorakṣanātha is referred to in several works, and hymns to him (attributed to the *Kalpadruma Tantra* and *Rājaguhya*) are mentioned in the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṃgraha* (pp. 42-43). According to the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṃgraha* (pp. 18-19) and also *Tantra-rājatantra*, the Tantras, probably the Kaula ones, were

17 Hirananda Sastri, *Origin and Cult of Tārā, Memoir Archoeological Survey*, No. 20, pp. 99ff.

18 भैरव्या भैरवात् प्राप्तं योगं व्याप्य ततः प्रिये ।
कामरूपे महापीठे मच्छन्देन महात्मना ॥
तत्सकाशात्तु सिद्धेन मीनाख्येन वरानने ॥

—*Tantrāloka* (~~Trivandrum~~ Kashmir Sanskrit Series), pp. 24-25.

introduced on earth by the nine Nāthas.[19] A manuscript copy of the *Mahākaulajñāna-vinirṇaya* stated to be introduced by Matsyendra has been found in transitional Gupta characters, about the same characters in which the manuscript of the *Parameśvara Tantra* of the Cambridge University Library copied in 859 A.D. was written. Wassiljew places the Nāthas at about this time, e.g., 800 A.D. This would therefore seem to fix the upper limit of the Kaula Tantras.

By the side of these we have got works which bear undeniable marks of modernity. Srī Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, is referred to in works like the *Īśānasaṃhitā* stated to be included in the *Kulārṇava.* It seeks to demonstrate the divine character of Śrī Caitanya. The *Gūḍhāvatāra-khaṇḍa* of the *Viśvasāra Tantra* describes the descent of Viṣṇu in the form of Śrī Caitanya. The *Viśvasāra Tantra* is also stated to contain an account of the birth of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher of Bengal, Nityānanda.[20] The *Ūrdhvāmnāya Saṁhitā* mentions Śrī Caitanya in place of the Buddha in the enumeration of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. There are also sections ascribed to the *Brahmayāmala* and the *Kṛṣṇayāmala* which deal with Caitanya. Manuscripts of these works are found in the libraries of the Asiatic Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. The *Yoginī Tantra* gives an account of king Viṣṇu-siṃha, the founder of Kocha clan.[21] The *Meru Tantra* goes further. It refers to the English people and the city of London.[22] Dialects of some Indian vernaculars found in the mantras in what are called the Śābara Tantras are evidence of their late origin.

The epithet *Bṛhat* added to some works may not unlikely be an indication of their being later accretions to earlier works. The case of *Bṛhadrudrayāmala* may be cited as an instance in this connection. No mention of it is found in any list of Tantras. It is not referred to in the well-known digests. We have three manuscripts of the work—all in the Bengali script—in the Asiatic Society. No other manuscript of the work is khown. It describes in the manner of the *maṅgala kāvyas* of Bengal the greatness of Pañcānana or Pañcānanda, a folk deity, the scare of children and hence an object

19 तन्त्रं मदुक्तं भुवने नवनाथैरकल्पयत्—*Tantrarājatantra.* 1, 7. H. P. Shastri, Nepal Catalogue, II, p. 32; Preface, p. xix.

20 Mahānirvāṇa tantra (Eng. trans.), M. N. Dutt, Introduction, p. 11.

21 The name of this king as given in an extract of the *Yoginī Tantra* in the *Sabdakalpadruma* under the word Śiva is Viṣṇusiṃha while the edition of the work (Bombay, śaka 1825) published from the Venkatesvar Steam Machine Press reads *Venusiṃha* (xiii. 14).

22 इंरेजा नवषट्पञ्च लण्ड्रजाश्चापि भाविनः । Prakāśa 23.

of special reverence to Bengali mothers.[23] The nature of contents occasionally throws light on the age of a work. The *Rādhā Tantra* seeks to interpret the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa from the standpoint of a Śakti-worshipper. It depicts Kṛṣṇa as a staunch Śākta with Rādhā as his Śakti helping him in his spiritual journey. This evidently represents a later conception and an attempt on the part of the Śāktas to belittle the Vaiṣṇavas and glorify their own sect. The work has been published several times in Bengal and manuscripts of it are found mostly in the Bengali script.

Some of the topics dealt with in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* and a number of ideas noticed there have an appearance of modernity. Very few are the manuscripts that have come down of this work and no reference to it is met with in any of the well-known digests. The work has been suspected in some quarters to be a fabrication partly or wholly of Hariharānandanātha, the guru of the celebrated Hindu reformer of the last century, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, 'written with the object of pushing the Reformist views' of the latter. It may be pointed out that the work 'was first published by the Adi Brahma Samaj' founded by the Raja. The preface to this edition stated that three MSS. were consulted ; one belonging to the library of the Samaj, the second supplied by Durgadas Chaudhuri, and the third taken from the library of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.[24]

These evidently late works represented as having been revealed by divine Śiva would naturally rouse suspicion as regards their genuineness and it is refreshing to note that a similar suspicion was found lurking in minds of people even in days of old. Yāmunācārya makes pointed reference to it. It is stated that some people even in modern times would pose as teachers of Tantras and promulgate doctrines that were not sanctioned by the Tantras.[25]

It thus seems that several of the Tantras are fairly old, some going back as early as the beginning of the Christian era. But it is most likely that like the Purāṇa literature the Tantra literature also swelled in course of time with the introduction of fresh material in the form of new works or interpolated passages.

23 For an account of the manuscripts and their contents cf. *D. R. Bhandarnar volume*, pp. 77-81.

24 Introduction and Preface to the edition and translation of the work by Arthur Avalon (Calcutta, 1913, Madras 1928).

25 अद्यत्वेऽपि हि दृश्यन्ते केचिदागमिकच्छलात् ।
अनागमिकमेवार्थं व्याचक्षाणा विचक्षणाः ॥
—*Āgamaprāmāṇya*, p. 4.

Authorship of the Tantras

✓As regards the authorship of the trantras we must admit that we know very little, specially with regard to the oldest and some of the best known of the works. There is no room in most cases even to hazard a guess. All that we are told is that they are of divine origin, undoubtedly to give them an appearance of sanctity and antiquity. The word *āgama* is interpreted as consisting of the initial letters of the words *āgata* (come), *gata* (gone), and *mata* (approved). It is supposed to refer to the *śāstra* that has been related by Śiva to his divine consort Pārvatī and has been approved by Viṣṇu. Similarly the *nigama* class of the tantras is supposed to have issued from (*nirgata*) the Devī (*Pārvatī*). Most of the tantra works of the Śaivas and Śāktas are thus represented as being interlocutions between Śiva and some aspect of his divine consort or his or her sons or attendants.[26] There are the Vaiṣṇava tantras again in which Viṣṇu in one of his various aspects is generally represented as the speaker while in the Buddhist tantras, called *Saṅgītis*, Buddha or a Bodhisattva is stated to have been the speaker or author. But the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra work, *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, is in the form of interlocution between Ahirbudhnya, a form of Śiva, and Nārada, the sage. The *Nārada Pañcarātra* also has some chapters which are interlocutions between Mahādeva and Pārvatī while there are some between Mahādeva and Nārada.

But in spite of this assertion of the divine origin of the tantra works we are fortunately given definite hints indicating their human authorship, at least in some cases. Thus in some works, a particular devotee is represented as having been the fortunate person to whom the particular work was revealed by its divine author as the Vedic mantras were revealed to the *ṛṣis* (seers). We also find human names associated with several works, some of which are definitely stated to have been brought down (*avatārita*) on earth by these persons. Some of the celebrated sages like Sanatkumāra, Dattātreya, Aṣṭāvakra, and Bharadvāja are found to be associated with tantra works bearing their names[27] not unlikely for securing recognition.

/ 26 The tradition that Śiva was the author of the Pāśupata system of the tantras goes back to the Mahābhārata (Śānti, 349. 67). Bhāskararāya in his *Setubandha* (VII. 47) has referred to the line of teachers of the tantras as follows: Supreme Brahman, Svacchanda Bhairava, (anāśrita) Īśvara, Devī, Sadāśiva, Īśvara, Vidyeśvara, Śrīkaṇṭha etc. Bhāskara has quoted in his *Saubhāgyabhāskara* (v. 118) the *Devībhāgavata* and *Skanda Purāṇa* to show how different works issued from different parts of the body of Śiva. Bhoja has made an attempt to establish Śiva as the author of tantras by means of logical arguments (*Tattvaprakāśa*, pp. 26ff.).

27 It is curious that Dattātreya, considered to be the father of the yoga system, is associated with the *Ṣaṭkarmas* (the six black rites) in the *Dattātreya Tantra*.

The *Śivasūtras*, the most revered work of the Śaivas of Kashmir, was according to a fairly old tradition revealed to Vasugupta in a dream on the mountain called Mahādeva.[28] The *Śrīmatottara Tantra*, though represented as having been revealed by Śiva to Pārvatī, is at the same time stated in the colophon to have been brought down on earth by a human author Śrīkaṇṭhanātha (e.g. *Śrīkaṇṭhanāthāvatārita*).[29] *Mahākaulajñānavinirṇaya* is similarly stated to have been brought down by Matsyendranātha.[30] *Yogavijayastavarāja* from the Brahmayāmala is stated to have been brought down from heaven by Pippalādamuni, though it was originally spoken by Śiva to Pārvatī.[31] The *Maheśvarīya Tantra*[32] which deals with topics like *māraṇa, uccāṭana*, etc., is said to have been manifested by Śiva to the sage Śivagiri and then published by his disciple.

There are examples in which no such reference to revelation or bringing down is mentioned, but they are straight away given out as having been composed (*racita, praṇīta*) by certain persons. The *Pūrvāmnāya Tantra*, as is stated in the colophon of its manuscript in the Durbar Library, Nepal, was composed by Ratnadeva.[33] Similarly the *Jñānalaksmī* or *Jayākhya-saṃhitā* is stated to have been composed by one Candradatta.[34] *Pāradayogaśāstram*[35] like many other tantras is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. But it was composed by Śivarāma Yogīndra as is mentioned in the colophons to some of the chapters. The *Tārāvilāsodaya*,[36] a tantra work in the form of an interlocution between Mahādeva and Pārvatī united in embrace, is definitely stated in the colophon to have been composed by Vāsudeva Kavikaṅkaṇa[37] who culled the verses, as we are informed in one of the introductory verses, from a work called the *Cīnakramamantravāridhi*.

The human authorship of the Buddhist *Saṅgītis* is revealed by the introductory lines which begin 'I heard that one day Bodhisattva was in such and such a condition, etc.', thus pointing to the fact that in their

28 J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Shaivaism*, 26ff.
29 H. P. Sastri, Nepal Catalogue, I, p. 255.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 236.
32 Published by Kshemraj Krishnadas, Bombay, 1842 S. E.
33 H. P. Sastri, Nepal Catalogue, I, p. 208.
34 *Ibid.*, pp. I, 76, 77.
35 Published by Matilal Banarsi Das, Lahore.
36 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta*, V. 30.
37 This title has almost become a proper name in Bengal referring to the author of the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala*, e.g., Mukundarāma Cakravartī.

present forms they are related by persons other than the Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Some of the detractors of tantra rites reluctant to recognize the divine origin and sanctity of the tantras have expressly declared their human origin and consequent unauthoritativeness. According to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* one Sātvata Aṃśu was the author of a śāstra prevalent among bastards and low-class people. This śāstra, after the name of the author, came to be known as *Sātvata Tantra*. This fact seems to have been referred in the *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* as well.[38]

The *Parāsara Purāṇa*, as quoted in the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* (p. 12) of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, also, seems to refer to the human origin of the Pañcarātra etc.[39] Vedottama, in his *Pāñcaratra-prāmāṇya* has gone so far as to declare that the original tantra works of the Śaivas that are believed to have been revealed by Maheśvara were compiled by an ordinary human being named Maheśvara and some credulous people were mistaken to identify him with the god Maheśvara only on the flimsy ground of the similarity of names.[40]

A similar charge appears to have been brought against the Vaiṣṇavas as well. It is stated that their scriptures were not the composition of

38 कौर्म्मे

अथांशुः सात्वतो नाम विष्णुभक्तः प्रतापवान् ।
महात्मा दाननिरतो धनुर्वेदविदां वरः ॥
स नारदस्य वचनाद् वासुदेवार्चने रतः ।
शास्त्रं प्रवर्त्तयामास कुण्डगोलादिभिः श्रितम् ॥
तस्य नाम्ना तु विख्यातं सात्वतं नाम शोभनम् ।
प्रवर्त्तते महाशास्त्रं कुण्डादीनां हितावहम् ॥ इति

श्रीभागवतेऽपि

तेनोक्तं सात्वतं तन्त्रं यज्ज्ञात्वा मुक्तिभाग्भवेत् ।
यत्र स्त्रीशूद्रदासानां संस्कारो वैष्णवो मतः ॥

—*Vīramitrodaya*, Vol. I, p. 24.

39 तथा पराशरपुराणे दशमाध्याये

धर्म्माधर्म्मादिविज्ञाने त्वागमाः पुरुषोदिताः ।
पाञ्चरात्रादयः सर्वे न प्रमाणमिति स्थितिः ॥

40 केनचिद्र्वाक्तनेन चैत्रज्ञेन महेश्वरसमाननाम्ना त्रयीमार्गवहिष्कृतेयं प्रक्रिया विरचिता । तन्नामसामान्येन केचिद् भ्रान्त्या महेश्वरोपदिष्टमार्गमवलम्बितवन्तः ।

Vāsudeva, the god, but of a deceitful person named Vāsudeva who promulgated his doctrines for the delusion of the people.[41]

That some of the tantra works were comparatively modern and were the composition of ordinary human beings was also believed by persons having no marked bias against the tantras. Aparārka in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā* (I. 7) specially condemns the works of human authors.[42]

41 वासुदेवाभिधानेन केनचिद् विप्रलिप्सुना ।
प्रणीतं प्रस्तुतं तन्त्रम् इति निश्चिनुमो वयम् ॥

—*Āgamaprāmāṇya* of Yāmunācārya, p. 25.

42 तत्रापि यत् पौरुषेयं न केवलमननुष्ठेयं तद् यावदप्रमाणमपीति हेयम् ।
(p. 19 of the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā* as published in the Ānandaśrama Sanskrit Series).

CHAPTER IV

PLACE OF THE TANTRAS AMONG OTHER ŚĀSTRAS

In spite of the fairly hoary antiquity and wide-spread popularity of tantra rites, in spite of all attempts on the part of the upholders of tantricism to prove their Vedic origin some, at least, if not all, of these practices had drawn upon themselves the unfavourable criticism of a section of the people from an early date. This was the case not only in India, but elsewhere outside India as well with regard to rites similar to those of the tantras. We are told that things went so far in Rome that phallic worship became an intolerable nuisance and had to be put down by the senate on account of the more than unusual immorality to which it gave rise. As regards the tantras there were people who were loath to recognize their authority. And there was a heated controversy raging almost constantly as regards the value and importance of these works and the rites prescribed in them. The general attitude of a good many modern scholars towards the tantras is also anything but favourable.

The controversy should not however lead us away from the fact that tantra worship in general, which has nothing objectionable in it, was and still is highly popular all over India. Indeed, Brahmanic worship all through is permeated by tantricism. There are bīja-mantras, mūla-mantras, nyāsas and many other characteristic features associated with tantricism that are found in Brahmanic worship of the present day. The popularity of tantricism is clearly testified to by the fact that tantra-worship has found place even in strictly Vedic rites. Thus in Bengal the tantric goddesses—the sixteen mothers—have to be worshipped even on the occasion of the observance of Vedic sacraments like Anna-prāśana, Upanayana, Vivāha etc. Brahmins are required to undergo a tantric initiation in addition to the Vedic one. His tantric *iṣṭamantra* is even more important to him than his Vedic *gāyatrī*.

Tantric counterparts of Vedic rites have also been added in course of time (e. g. tantric Saṁdhyā etc.). Many of the cults of the village deities of different parts of India also bear distinct stamp of the marked influence exerted by tantricism thus show its popularity.[1] We see how the Indian spirit of compromise has been at work here.

1 Cf. my paper on *the Cult of Bāro Bhāiyā of Eastern Bengal* (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXVI, pp. 379 ff.)

A reference may be made to the appraisement of the value and position of the tantras as met with in different works. Buddhist and Jain works refer to the practices of the tantras invariably in a spirit of denunciation. They speak ill of these practices that are not to be adopted by those who follow the right path. They are even dubbed as *dukkata* or malpractices. Even in popular works like the *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* of the polymath Kṣemendra and *Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā* of the Jainas a ridiculous and most detestable picture of tantric rites is sought to be drawn. Guṇaratna commenting on the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 300) has definitely put down the Kāpālikas as *nāstikas* recognising neither good nor bad.

Brahmanic works are also found to have referred to the un-Vedic character of the tantras as a whole or at least of some parts of them. This is done not only directly when the tantras are actually condemned, but also indirectly in places where different forms of worship (e. g. Vedic, Tāntric etc.) are mentioned side by side. The tantric form as distinct from the Vedic form is however sometimes said to be specially efficacious in the Kali age. Several arguments have been put forward to prove the un-Vedic character of the Tantras.[2] First, it is stated, there is no direct Vedic statement in support of tantra rites and theories while some of them were actually at variance with those of the Vedas. Why is a separate initiation required for tantra rites, it is asked, even for one who has undergone Vedic initiation, if the tantras are not different in essence from the Vedas? In practice, too, it is argued, the tantras are much in vogue among the low class people (who were apparently beyond the pale of Aryandom) and as such, a social stigma seems to have attached to the followers of the tantras. Neither are the tantras found to have been included in the list of fourteen recognised branches of learning.

The un-Vedic nature of the tantras was suspected as early as the time of *Niśvasa-tattva-saṁhitā*, a manuscript of which, written in transitional Gupta characters, is in the Durbar Library of Nepal.[3] *Rudrayāmala* (ch. xvii) and *Brahmayāmala* (ch. I-II) which describe how Vaśiṣṭha, unable to attain perfection by the performance of Vedic rites, had to take lessons from Buddha in tantricism, point to the inferiority of the Vedas and hence the un-Vedic character of tantricism. *Nityātantra* (Chap. I) admits the un-Vedic character of the Cakra worship

2 *Āgamaprāmāṇya* of Yāmunācārya, pp. 7, 10.

3 H. P. Shastri, *A Cat. of Palm-leaf & selected paper Mss. belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal*, Vol. I., pp. 10, 137, Preface p. LXXVII.

of the tantras. The Siddhāntatantras of the South which claim for themselves a Vedic origin (S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *Śivādvaita of Nīlakaṇṭha*, University of Madras, 1930, p. 4) have been put down as un-Vedic in the *Vāyusaṁhitā* as quoted by Appayadīkṣita in his *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* under *Brahmasūtra* (II 2. 38).

✓The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XI. 3. 47-48, XI. 5. 28) prescribes the worship of Viṣṇu both according to Tantras and Vedas. *Yoginītantra* (xiii. 51) refers to Vedic and tantric dharma. Kullūka in his commentary on Manusaṁhitā (II. 1) mentions two classes of Śrutis, Vedic and Tantric.

Some people like Bhāskararāya (*Setubandha* p. 4) and Mitra Miśra, author of the Smṛti compilation called *Vīramitrodaya*, distinguish between Vedic and un-Vedic tantras. The *Vīramitrodaya* (Vol. I., p. 22) has quoted the *Vāyusaṁhitā* in support of this distinction[4].

Occasionally we notice the existence of definite antagonism between the Vedas on the one hand and the tantras on the other. One initiated in tantra rites was advised not to observe any Vedic ceremony. Aparārka quotes one anonymous smṛti text which states that Vedic śrāddha is highly depreciable for one who has been initiated in tantricism[5].

One tantra work, the *Kākacaṇḍeśvarīmatam*, refers to the superiority of the tantras over the Vedas and states that the Vedas being very old in age cannot lead to perfection[6]. The *Kulārṇava* (xi. 85) points to the relative dignity of the tantras and the Vedas when it compares the former to high-born women and the latter to public women[7].

Some of the tantra works themselves have unsparingly criticised the apparently revolting practices of tantric kulācāra. The *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* states that external tantra worship should not in general be performed, but it may be performed by low caste people as it leads to little

✓ 4 शैवागमोऽपि द्विविधः श्रौतोऽश्रौतश्च संस्मृतः ।
श्रुतिसारमयः श्रौतः स्वतन्त्र इतरः स्मृतः ॥

The *Api* here has been interpreted as referring to this distinction with regard to Vaiṣṇava and Pāñcarātra tantras as well.

5 दीक्षितस्य च वेदोक्तं श्राद्धकर्मातिगर्हितम्—*Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā* (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona), p. 11.

6 H. P. Shastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library of Nepal* (वेदानां च वयोऽर्थेन न सिद्धिस्तेन जायते).

7 वेदस्मृतिपुराणानि सामान्यगणिका इव ।
इयन्तु शाम्भवी विद्या गोप्या कुलवधूरिव ॥

good. Those who follow Vedic injunction should perform internal worship, implying thereby, as is explicitly pointed out by Lakṣmīdhara, commentator of the *Saundaryalaharī* (p. 107 of the Mysore ed.), that external rites are un-Vedic. Lakṣmīdhara in another place of his work definitely (p. 130) states that kula rites are un-Vedic.

Some of the Purāṇas are found to have been quite outspoken in their condemnation of the tantras. They not only try to undermine their value as being un-Vedic but also assert that they lead astray the people who are not on their guard. Rudra says to the sage Agastya in the *Varāhapurāṇa* (70. 41 ; 71. 9, 53-55) how the tantras were compiled by him for deluding the people[8] fallen from the Vedic path. In another place it is stated how, at the request of Viṣṇu, Śiva compiled the tantras with the same object and wrongly showed how a good deal could be attained with the least effort (70. 35-38).

The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (Pūrvabhāga, XII. 255-9) also says the same thing. The *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* of Bhaṭṭoji has quoted from the Vaśiṣṭha Purāṇa, Liṅga°, Brahmavaivarta°, Skanda°, Parāśara°, and Sūtasaṁhitā similar passages which seek to demonstrate the unauthoritativeness and deceptive character of the tantras.

Some people went so far as to advise complete social ostracism of the followers of the tantras. Any act of social intercourse with them was to be followed by expiatory rites. Aparārka[9] has quoted an anonymous Smṛti text which says that one should see the sun even if he happens to have a look at the Kāpālikas, Śaivas or Pāśupatas, and should be pure after taking a bath if he touches them. According to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (Uparibhāga, ch. xvi.) one should not even do the honour of speaking to Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas.

According to the *Sāmbapurāṇa* quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (Vol. I, p. 24), Tantras should be resorted to by persons fallen from Vedic rites and afraid of Vedic penances. Stories are told how the tantras were introduced for degenerated people. The Kurmapurāṇa story runs thus: A band of hermits practising austerities in Dāruvana had to resort on account of a long standing drought to the sage Gautama for food. He did them all honour and fed them for twelve long years, after which there were great rains and the world was as before. The hermits

8 According to the *Bhairavaḍāmara* also tantra rites that appear to be very easy were meant to delude the people.

"दुष्टानां मोहनार्थाय सुगमं तन्त्रमीरितम्"

—*Bhairava-ḍāmara* (*uttara-bhāga*).

9 *Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā* (A.S.S.), p. 18.

made haste to return to their own hermitage but the sage Gautama requested them to stay there sometime longer. Unwilling to make any delay the ungrateful hermits spread a false rumour to the effect that Gautama had killed a cow and that they could not take food from such a sinful person. Gautama thereupon cursed them that they would have no right in the performance of vedic rites and as such would not attain perfection. Thereupon they went to Śiva and Viṣṇu who made the tantras for the deliverance of these unvedic people.[10] The curse of Gautama is also stated to have been alluded to in the *Skandapurāṇa* (yajñavaibhava khaṇḍa, ch. xxxii). The story is also found in the Varāhapurāṇa (chapter 71) with some minor difference. According to the Parāsara upapurāṇa (chapter III) as quoted in the Tantrādhikārinirṇaya (pp. 34-35) people began to follow the un-vedic form of worship as prescribed in the tantras as a result of the curse uttered by Brahman on Viṣṇu when the latter was engaged in a bitter quarrel with Śiva as regards mutual superiority.

The tantric denunciation has been sought to be traced in early dharmaśāstra works too. A passage of Āpastamba is supposed by Aparārka (p. 13) to have reference to the unauthoritativeness of Śaiva rites and practices. The passage in question, however, does not mention the Śaivas by name. What it says is that practices coming in conflict with those of the Vedas are devoid of authority.

Several verses of Manu have been interpreted as referring to tantra rites in an unsympathetic manner. Thus Aparārka in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (I. 7, p. 12-14) is of opinion that Manu (xii, 95-96), who mentions śrutis beyond the pale of Vedic literature, refers to the scriptures of the Śaivas etc., i. e., the tantras. It is however a fact that Manu (XI. 63) expressly condemns *abhicāra* which is found both in the Atharvaveda and some of the tantras. He includes it in the list of Upa-pātakas or minor sins.

The revolting rites of the tantras, specially the ṣaṭkarmas, do not seem to have ever been hailed as conducive to religious merit. It may be that it was owing to the advocacy of some such rites that the Atharvaveda had to face a strong wave of popular aversion against itself and had to demonstrate its merit before it could be accepted as genuine and pure, a Veda proper. The volume of criticism levelled against the tantra also, both in earlier and modern days, seems to be

10 The Tantrādhikārinirṇaya p. 25ff. refers this account to chapter xiv of the Kūrmapuraṇa, but this reference is not borne out by the Vangavasi Press edition of the work.

based on these. Severe penances have been prescribed for magic rites performed, with the intent of doing harm to enemies, in various old works like *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (I. 9, 26-27), *Baudhāyana°* (II. I. 2 16), *Gautama°* (25. 7), *Manusaṁhitā* (ix 290), *Yājñavalkya saṁhitā* (III. 289). And this represents the attitude of not a very small and negligible section of the people towards these rites.

The use of wine even in sacrifices was resented at a very early period. That such a feeling of resentment existed as early as the time of Patañjali or even earlier is shown by a verse quoted by him which expresses surprise as to how wine which was the source of all evil could lead one to heaven if taken on the occasion of a sacrifice.[11]

Kumārila in his Tantravārtika, Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras (II. 2. 45), Puruṣottama in his *Bhāṣyaprakāśa* on Vallabhācārya's Aṇubhāṣya (II. 2. 42) and Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Vedāntakalpataruparimala* have all sought to prove the unauthoritativeness of the tantras, or sections of them, at least among the higher class people, on account of their un-Vedic character.

The most curious thing with regard to these denunciations is the mutual feeling of disregard and contempt that the followers of one sect bore against those of another. The Vaiṣṇavas were outspoken in their attack of the views of the Śaivas and the Śāktas and vice versa. Thus the Pāñcarātra school of the Vaiṣṇavas denounced the Śaiva and Śākta rites in most definite terms. All kinds of heinous offences and revolting practices are found to have been associated with the Śāktas by the followers of Caitanya in Bengal (I.H.Q., Vol. IV, p. 247ff.). Vedottama in his *Pañcarātraprāmāṇya* not only makes an attempt to undervalue the Śaivas and Śāktas by declaring their scriptures to be un-Vedic and hence unacceptable, but also by declaring them to be nothing but the fabrication of an ordinary person named Maheśvara. In a similar way the Vaiṣṇava tantras were supposed in some quarters to be the composition of a cheat called Vāsudeva.[12]

One sub-sect would also often find fault with another. Among the Śāktas we find the Kaulas finding fault with the Paśus and the

11 यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत् स्वर्गं किं तत् क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥
—Mahābhāṣya I. 1, 1. According to the commentator this refers to the use of wine in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

12 वासुदेवाभिधानेन केनचिद् विप्रलिप्सुना ।
प्रणीतं प्रस्तुतं तन्त्रमिति निश्चिनुमो वयम् ॥
—*Āgama-prāmāṇya* of Yāmunācārya (p. 25)

Paśus and others levelling attacks against the views and practices of the Kaulas. Lakṣmīdhara, commentator of the *Saundarya-laharī* of Śaṁkara, seems to be the most pronounced in his vituperations against the Kaulas. He, however, was himself a Śākta, being a worshipper of Śrīvidyā and a follower of what is called Samaya-mārga. In his commentary on verse 31 of the work of Śaṁkara he gives full and clear expression to his views on this point. He lays bare the malpractices and faults of all the sixty four authoritative works of the Kaulas one after another. A very interesting illustration of this sort of mutual vilification is also afforded by the commentators (belonging to different Tantra sects) of two sections of the *Brahmasūtras* (II. 2. 7-8) which are supposed to record denunciation of Tantric doctrines.[13]

Bhāskararāya attempts to explain this attitude of mutual mud-throwing by supposing that particular passages in a tantra speaking ill of any sect, are not to be taken literally but as seeking to emphasise the excellence of the particular sect in the work of which such passages are met with.[14]

It may be that it was owing to this mutual fault finding that one did not like to or dare give out one's religious professions in public. It is thus laid down that one though inwardly a Śākta should outwardly show himself as a Śaiva and pose as a Vaiṣṇava in the public.[15]

It should be confessed by an unbiased critic that the denunciations of the tantras were not wholly unmerited. People had begun to take part in all kinds of excesses from an early period under the cover of tantricism. This is apparent from a number of statements found in Buddhist works like the *Advayasiddhi*, the *Ekallavīracaṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇatantra* and the *Tathāgataguhyaka* which lay particular stress on the pleasures of the flesh as the means to spiritual success.[16]

13 C. Chakravarti—ब्रह्मसूत्रे तन्त्रमतनिरासः (*Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XIII, pp, 324ff.)

14 *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* with Setubandha (A.S.S.), p. 24.

15 अन्तः शैवो बहिः शाक्तः सभायां वैष्णवो मतः ।

16 न कष्टकल्पनां कुर्यान्नोपवासं न च क्रियाम् ।
न चापि वन्दयेद्देवान् काष्ठपाषाणमृन्मयान् ॥
पूजामस्यैव कायस्य कुर्यान्नित्यं समाहितः ॥—*Advayasiddhi*
सुखेन प्राप्यते बोधिः सुखं न स्त्रीवियोगतः ।
—*Ekallavīracaṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*

As a matter of fact tantra rites that have been tabooed for the ordinary man for the excessive difficulty involved in their performance[17] came to be regarded as the easiest means leading to salvation. The popular view with regard to these rites is reflected in a short stanza spoken by a Kāpālika (Śaiva devotee) in the *Mattavilāsa* (I. 7) of Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty. He is glad that Lord Paśupati has found an easy way to salvation, e.g., through enjoyment resulting from the drinking of wine and looking at the face of the beloved lady. The *Karpūramañjarī* (I. 23-24) of Rājaśekhara echoes the same view when the Kaula path is praised as it makes provision for the use of meat and wine and when the Lord Paśupati is eulogised for his showing the path of salvation through sexual enjoyment and wine. In fact there had actually come a time when, as Prof. Bendall has put it in the introduction to his edition of *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, the tantras developed a form of religion which was brought to the level of very thinly veiled Kāmaśāstra. The tantra form of worship had at that time actually reached such a stage of abject degeneration at the hands of at least a section of its followers that it naturally invited all kinds of vituperation against it in general.

It should, however, be remembered that one would be little justified in identifying the Tantras with these apparently revolting practices alone. They actually formed only a part of the Tantras and were meant only for the selected few[18] who achieved complete self-control and were unmoved by all temptations. It was with a view to dissuade ordinary people from the observance of these very difficult practices that the Tantra and Purāṇa works are found to speak adversely and in unequivocal terms against them.[19] It is true that these practices have been the source of much evil owing to their misuse, but it is equally true that in spite of their seemingly little spiritual value they are reported to have been assiduously observed with good results and without any

दुष्करैर्नियमैस्तीव्रैः सेव्यमानैर्न सिध्यति ।
सर्वकामोपभोगैश्च सेवयंश्चाशु सिध्यति ॥—*Tathāgata-guhyaka*
सम्भोगार्थमिदं सर्वं त्रैधातुकमशेषतः ।
निर्मितं वज्रनाथेन साधकानां हिताय वै ॥

17 The Kulārṇava (II. 122) goes so far as to say that it is easier to walk along a bed of swords or to hold on to the neck of a tiger than to perform the Kaula rites of the tantras.

18 Higher caste people according to some, were not to take part in these practices (Raghunandana, *Tithitattva*, Durgāpūjā section under *balidāna*).

19 Bhāskararāya, Setubandha (A.S.S.), p. 24.

harm by more than one admittedly great spiritual leader. But whatever might have been the value of these mystic rites there is no denying the fact that even leaving these out of account there is enough in the vast Tantra literature that has nothing objectionable in it, but much that has intrinsic value.

The Tantras may at first sight appear to be un-Vedic, but upholders of Tantricism have taken pains to prove the Vedic origin of particular rites and mantras as also the intimate connection between Vedic and Tantric literature. Bhāskararāya is of opinion that the Tantras are Smṛtis and that they are supplementary to the Jñānakāṇḍa or Upaniṣads, as Manusmṛti etc. are supplementary to the Karmakāṇḍa portion of the Vedas.[20] As a matter of fact, different people have attempted in different ways to find for the Tantras a place among the fourteen branches of learning. Bhāskararāya in his *Varivasyārahasya* includes them in *dharmaśāstra.* Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also, in his *Prasthānabheda,* groups the Pāśupata and Vaiṣṇava system under *dharmaśāstra.* According to Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's *Śivatāṇḍavīyāṅkayantravyākhyā* the Tantras fall under the Purāṇas.

The trend of discussions on both sides, however, seems to indicate that neither the appreciations nor the denunciations of the Tantras as met with in earlier works should be taken too literary. Bhāskararāya, as we have already pointed out, truly says that detractions sometimes really aim at the emphatic appreciation of a particular sect or school. In this connection, we would do well to remember what Aparārka (13th century) says in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Saṁhitā* (A. S. S., p. 19) criticising tantricism in no favourable way: "The Tantras should not be condemned but still they have no authority or validity *in all their parts*". This appears to be a very rational and impartial of estimate of the whole thing.

20 *Setubandha,* Commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra,* (A. S. S., p. 4). *Saubhāgyabhāskara,* Commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāmastotra,* (N. S. P., p. 231).

CHAPTER V

IDEALS OF TANTRA RITES

The tantras, as a whole, Śāktaism, especially, have been almost unequivocally condemned by scholars, Indian and foreign alike. Some of them went so far as to suggest that the Tantras were compiled with a view to the preaching of licentiousness among the people in general —the Tantras were nothing but the Kāmaśāstra in a garb. A number of them even welcomed the total annihilation of this class of literature for the good of the unsuspecting mass. It was this pronounced unfavourable attitude of influential personages to this branch of literature that was responsible for the comparative neglect of Tantric literature when a keen spirit for a sifting and careful study of all branches of Sanskrit literature was abroad. The extreme difficulty in, and almost the absence of any possibility of, gathering any sense of many of the portions of the vast literature without the help of a properly qualified teacher also stood in the way of its proper appreciation. Consequently curious misconceptions are found to have prevailed both with respect to the literature and doctrines of the system.

A careful and sympathetic study of the literature will, however, go to show that the ideal of the Tantras is the realisation of the identity of the Individual Soul with the Supreme Soul. And the various rites in tantric worship will be found on a close study to be so conceived as to help this realisation in a graduated scale. The first principle of tantric worship is that a worshipper should identify himself with the deity he worships along with the macrocosm over which it presides[1]. And hence the Tantras give preference to what is called the internal worship (*antaryāga*) as also to pure meditation (*bhāvanā*). The followers of Samaya School even disregard external worship and practise meditation for the realisation of the self[2].

It appears the Tantras, and almost all the sects, had philosophical tenets of their own. As a matter of fact, like the six Brahmanical

1 The various parts of this worship, *Bhūtaśuddhi* and the different *nyāsas*, all aim at this realisation. देवी भूत्वा तु तां यजेत्—*Gandharva Tantra*, viii. 2. Also शिवो भूत्वा शिवं यजेत् ।

2 Lakṣmīdhara's *Commentary on Saundaryalaharī*, Mysore edition. p. 110. Also, अन्तर्यागात्मिका पूजा सर्वपूजोत्तमा प्रिये । बहिःपूजा विधातव्या यावज्ज्ञानं न जायते ॥ —*Vāmakeśvara Tantra* (Chapter 51).

systems five Tāntric systems of philosophy, each for one principal school, are recognised[3]. The philosophical doctrines of the various sects as well as of the sub-sects are however found scattered in different parts of the extensive Tantric literature. They require to be put together and studied systematically. But what little is known of them indicates the close connection of certain sections at least with Vedantic ideas.

All the more important schools of Tantras had their own commentaries on the *Vedānta sūtras* interpreting the latter in accordance with the doctrines of their respective systems of philosophy. Of these the commentaries of the different schools of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas are well-known. Pandit Pancanan Tarkaratna, was the author of a commentary based on the Śakti cult which, in his opinion, represents *sarūpādvaitavāda*. According to the Śāktas Śakti is *dvaita-siddhānta-hantrī* (one who rejects the doctrine of dualism). Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Devībhāgavata*, refers to the Mother goddess as *sarvavedānta-siddānta-bhūmi* (the essence of the Vedānta). Brahman, qualified by māyā, he says, is the object of worship of the Śāktas. Tārā is usually called Brahmamayī even by the common people.

In some quarters, however, a relation is sought to be established between the Tantras or at least the Śaiva section and the Sāṃkhya system (*Tattvaprakāśa-ṭikā* of Śrīkumāra, IV. 3 ; Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa on *Mṛgendratantra* II. 10). Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* has even made an attempt to identify the categories of the Tantras with those of the Sāṃkhya. Śakti or the supreme Goddess is identified with the supreme Brahman also in the different Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas[4].

The Śākta system of yoga provides a complete code of self-discipline. The elaborate rites of worship and the yogic practices often go hand in hand. The internal worship of the Tantras has a close contact with these practices.

Pantheistic ideas are sought to be ingrained in the minds of Śakti-worshippers during the time of worship[5]. It is Śakti that pervades the entire universe[6]. She is all in all. She is the author of creation, preservation and destruction of the world.

3 Nīlakaṇṭha's *Comm. on Devībhāgavata*, IV. 15. 12.

4 Nīlakaṇṭha, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 29 (Haricaran Basu's edition).

5 शक्तिरूपं जगत् सर्वं यो न जानाति स नारकी as quoted in *Tantrasāra*, P. Sastri's edition, p. 651.

6 आराध्या परमा शक्तिर्यया सर्वमिदं ततम्—*Devībh.*, III. 9. 33.

It is true that side by side with these admittedly higher things provision is found to have been made in the Śākta Tantras for rites that appear to be highly objectionable and derogatory from an ethical standpoint ; for they pertain to the use of what are called five *makāras* as well as even more objectionable things like seminal and menstrual discharges of men and women, dead bodies of human beings, the performance of six mischievous and cruel magical rites. But a close scrutiny of the works prescribing these rites will reveal that comparatively a very small section of the extensive literature of the Tantras deals with these rites. Almost an insignificant portion, for instance, of the comprehensive Tantric compilation of Bengal, e.g., the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda, is devoted to them. Besides, these rites are prescribed not for the people in general but for only the select few, only a certain section of the Śāktas. Even all members of the Kaula sect of the Śāktas, a sect notorious for these rites, were not to follow this form of worship. The Pūrvakaulas though following this path did only resort to symbolical representation of the objectionable things[7]. Higher castes like Brahmins and followers of paths other than the Kaula are also required to use substitutes for these objects[8]. Kṣatriyas are not to drink wine even for religious purposes ; they may only offer it to the deity[9]. Long extracts quoted from *Śyāmāpradīpa* in the *Haratattvadīdhiti*[10] give list of substitutes for these things, e.g., cheese for semen, offering of particular flower in a particular posture for sexual intercourse, milk etc. for wine, and fruits for meat.

Absolutely allegorical and yogic interpretations were also sometimes given to these rites. According to these interpretations wine referred to the intoxicating knowledge of the supreme Being. Control of speech was the taking of wine and so forth[11]. The Pañcatattvas of the

7 श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिमध्यगतां योनिं भूर्जहेमवस्त्रपीठादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति । तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिमुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति —Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

8 यत्नासवमवश्यन्तु ब्राह्मणस्तु विशेषतः ।
गुडार्द्रकं तदा दद्यात्ताम्र वारि सृजेन्मधु ॥
Tantrasāra, P. Sastri's edition, p. 651.

9 तेन क्षत्रियादीनां मुख्यस्य दानेऽधिकारः न पाने—*Ibid.*, p. 651.

10 Pp. 57-8 of the work by Harakumar Tagore.

11 यदुक्तं परमं ब्रह्म निर्विकारं निरञ्जनम् ।
तस्मिन् प्रमदनं ज्ञानं तन्मद्यं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥—*Vijayātantra.*

Vaiṣṇavas, again, are nothing but *Gurutattva, Varṇatattva, Mantratattva, Dhyānatattva* and *Devatattva.*

✓It has of course to be admitted that these interpretations are far-fetched and apologetic ; there is a spirit of euphemism even though they agree in some cases with internal worship and Tantric yoga. But if revolting rites were prescribed, they were prevalent with all their vulgarism only among a very limited few. Sects of the Śāktas other than the Kaulas are forbidden in very strong terms from taking part in any of the rites meant for the Kaulas. It is probably with a view to save the ordinary people from these alluring practices that the non-Kaula texts sometimes find fault with the rites and doctrines of the Kaulas. And far from having anything that might even appear to be objectionable some of the non-Kaula sects of the Tantras are found to prescribe much that is laudable. The total prohibition of animal sacrifice in the Pārānanda school[12], the dignified spiritual tone of the followers of the Samaya school, not to speak of the non-Śākta schools, cannot fail to attract the notice of keen and sympathetic students.

Utmost care and proper precaution were taken to guard against the possible degeneration that these rites might bring in. Religious use of wine, meat and other things are prescribed with sufficient reservation. Their use simply for the sake of pleasure and enjoyment is condemned in very strong terms. It should not be supposed, states the *Kulārṇava,* that religion consists in a mere enjoyment of these things, for then drunkards and meat-eaters would all be regarded as highly religious personages[13]. Subtle and, to all appearances, absurd, may seem to be

कुलकुण्डलिनी शक्तिर्देहिनां देहधारिणी ।
तया शिवस्य संयोगो मैथुनं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥—*Ibid.*
गङ्गायमुनायोर्मध्ये मत्स्यौ द्वौ चरतः सदा ।
तौ मत्स्यौ भक्षयेद् यस्तु स भवेन्मत्स्यसाधकः ॥—*Agamasāra.*
मा-शब्दाद् रसना ज्ञेया तदंशान् रसनाप्रियान् ।
सदा यो भक्षयेद्देवि स एव मांससाधकः ॥—*Ibid.*

The above extracts are taken from two Bengali works, e.g., *Sādhanakalpalatikā* and *Vāmākṣepā.*

12 परानन्दस्याष्टविधहिंसनाभावान्मध्यमं परानन्दो वर्जयेत्—
Pārānanda-Sūtra, Gækwad's Oriental Series, p. 13.

13 मद्यपानेन मनुजो यदि सिद्धिं लभेत वै ।
मद्यपानरताः सर्वे सिद्धिं गच्छन्तु पामराः ॥
मांसभक्षणमात्रेण यदि पुण्या गतिर्भवेत् ।
लोके मांसाशिनः सर्वे पुण्यभाजो भवन्ति हि ॥—*Kulārṇava*, II, 117-18.

the distinction between the religious and ordinary use of these things. Such a distinction was, however, not only recognised but strictly emphasised. It was also realised that this hair-splitting distinction would be more than impossible for ordinary people to comprehend and failures, which were only natural, to observe the rules for their use and preserve a perfect mental equilibrium at the time of their use, would be frequent doing more harm than good. It was for this reason that difficulties and pitfalls lying in the path of this form of worship were often exaggerated to overawe people who might feel a fascination for it. The Kaula form of worship that prescribes the use of the five *M's*, viz., *matsya* (fish), *māṃsa* (meat), *madya* (wine), *mudrā* (particular kind of food), *maithuna* (sexual intercourse), though regarded as highly efficacious, nay as the best form of worship, has been stated in definite terms to be more difficult than all difficult things of the world. The practice of the Kaula path, says the *Kulārṇava*, is even more difficult than walking on blades of swords, catching hold of the neck of a tiger and holding a snake (in the hand)[14]. The rites pertaining to this form of worship were not allowed to be performed in public but they were carefully kept secret so that the ordinary run of people might not feel tempted to imitate them. Severe were the penances prescribed for persons who took to these things only for the sake of enjoyment. Heated wine was to be poured into the mouth of one who drank it for the sake of pleasure in order that his mouth might be purified[15]. Persons using these things for secular purposes were doomed to eternal damnation[16].

This peculiar form of worship was prescribed only at a very advanced stage of spiritual development when the extreme type of self-control

14 कृपाणधारागमनाद् व्याघ्रकण्ठावलम्बनात् ।
भुजङ्गधारणान्नूनमशक्यं कुलवर्त्तनम् ॥—*Kulārṇava*, II. 122.

15 सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिक्षिपेत् ।
मुखे तया विनिर्दग्धे ततः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥—*Kulārṇava*, II, 129.

16 अर्थाद् वा कामतो वापि सौख्यादपि च यो नरः ।
लिङ्गयोनिरतो मन्त्री रौरवं नरकं व्रजेत् ॥—*Tantrasāra*, P. Shastri's edition, p. 649.

अद्वैतभावरहितो द्वन्द्वचित्तोऽथ कामुकः ।
देवताभावरहितो लौल्यभावेन वा पुनः
परशक्तिं समागच्छेत् स भवेद् गुरुतल्पगः ॥
संसाराम्बुनिधेः पारं करोति विधिना च सा ।
नरकाम्बुनिधौ शक्तिः क्षिपत्यविधिना च सा ॥
—*Gandharva Tantra*, 37, 14-15

had been achieved, when the things that normally cause distraction could create no mental disturbance. The characteristics of a true Kaula, fit to undertake these practices, as enumerated in different Tantric texts clearly indicate this and these cannot but evoke respect and admiration for a Kaula. This was almost the final and most difficult test that a spiritual aspirant had to face. Persons who dared to follow this extremely difficult path were quite appropriately called Vīras or heroes. The objects that in the usual course of things were known to bring in degeneration were expected to secure salvation for them[17]. The way of the Kaulas was therefore stated to be extremely incomprehensible—beyond the power of comprehension of even the yogins[18]. The real Kaula is he who is not in any way affected by things that cause disturbance even of divine beings[19]. Hence these rites were to be performed under the guidance and supervision of properly qualified teachers. For a novice, unaware of the secrets of the worship, intending to perform it and attain success through it would be as ridiculous as one who wishes to cross the ocean with bare hands[20].

It can thus in no way be supposed, as some well-known scholars have done, that the Tantras preached licentiousness in the form of these rites, that they were Kāmaśāstra in a garb. As a matter of fact, however, they aimed, as will be seen from what has been stated above, at complete self-control demonstrated not only through abstinence from but also through participation in objects of enjoyments.

But whatever be the directions of Tantra texts and Tantric teachers in the matter, it is unfortunately a sad and undeniable fact that the actual practices of a good many people were so extremely vulgar and anti-religious that they rightly served to rouse the contempt of the people at large not only for them put for the Tantra system of religion as a

17 यैरेव पतनं द्रव्यैमुक्तिस्तैरेव साधनैः ।

18 कौलो धर्मः परमगहनो योगिनामप्यगम्यः—

Last verse of the seventh chapter of the *Ācārasāra* or *Mahācīnācāra Tantra* as found in some MSS of the work.

19 अहो पीतं सुराद्रव्यं मोहयेत्त्रिदशानपि ।
तन्मद्यं कौलिकः पीत्वा विकारं नाप्नुयात्तु यः ।
मद्ध्यानैकपरो भूयात् स भक्तः स च कौलिकः ॥

—*Pārānanda-Sūtra*, Gækwad's Oriental Series, p. 16.

20 कुलधर्म्ममजानन् यः संसारान्मोक्षमिच्छति ।
पारावारमपारं स पाणिभ्यां तर्त्तुमिच्छति ॥

—*Kulārṇava*, II. 47.

whole. It was really difficult to follow to the letter the strict injunctions of the śāstras and a certain amount of misapplication was inevitable. It is also not unlikely that manipulation and even fabrication of Tāntric texts was practised by interested persons of a depraved character. This sort of things went on even in comparatively olden times as is testified to by some of the Tantric works themselves. The *Kulārṇava* says that there were people, who being devoid of any traditional learning, would preach imaginary things in the name of Kaulaism[21]. Even in these days, it is stated, there are people who falsely pose as scholars of Tantras and give currency to unauthorised views that go against the views of the Tantras[22].

It is apparently for the presence of these heterodox things that two classes of Tantras were distinguished, Vedic and un-Vedic or authoritative and unauthoritative. Owing to the practice of mutual mud-throwing that prevailed among different sects the literature of one sect was ruthlessly criticised and ungraciously condemned by another. It would thus appear, in the first instance, to be almost impossible to find out the really authoritative and good works of the system. But this cannot baffle the scrutinising eye of the painstaking scholar.

And no one can reasonably find fault with the entire system on account of the prevalence of certain unauthorised rites or owing to the circulation of a number of unauthoritative texts. A careful study of at least the well-known and representative works of the system is expected to help to distinguish the good things from the really bad and remove the misconceptions with regard to the system and lead to its proper appreciation by giving an idea of the real nature of its doctrines. And it is a happy sign of the times that several individual scholars and institutions have taken up in right earnest the study and publication of Tantric texts.

21 बहवः कौलिकं धर्मं मिथ्याज्ञानविडम्बकाः ।
स्वबुद्धया कल्पयन्तीत्थं पारम्पर्यविवर्जिताः ॥
—*Kulārṇava*, II. 116.

22 *Āgamaprāmāṇya* already cited at p. 24 f. n. 25

CHAPTER VI

HOW AND WHERE THE TANTRAS ORIGINATED

Though tantra elements may be traced as far back as the Vedic period, the tantras cannot be said to have existed as a distinct system at that time. It is not easy to determine exactly the time when, the people among whom and the place where the tantras first originated. We have a number of mythological stories in this connection to which reference has already been made telling how Tantras had their origin with degenerated people.

Though they are rather conflicting in details they agree in suggesting the origin of the Tantras with degenerated or low-class people from whom they seem to have been borrowed by the higher class people who may have systematised them and found for them a philosophy of their own. Different Tantric rites and deities are known to have been popular in olden times with lower class people among whom they are supposed to have had their roots.

That the worship of Kālī was at one time prevalent among lower class people seems to be indicated by the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[1] This work lays down that the goddess should be worshipped in the house of either a potter or an oilman. Mm. H. P. Shastri has shown that Śiva was originally a god of the vrātyas[2] or a non-vedic nomadic people.

Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* (Peterson's edition p. 32) refers to rites similar to those of the tantras as having been prevalent among the lower section of the people (Śabaras), e.g., offering human flesh as a religious offering and worshipping god with blood and meat of animals. From the way in which Bāṇa mentions these things they do not seem to have as yet begun to be adopted by the higher section. He expresses his surprise at the peculiar religious notions of these people which found expression in these rites. Elsewhere (pp. 224-28) he refers to the temple of goddess Caṇḍikā and the rites performed there. The chief priest of this temple is stated to have been an old Dravidian. As a matter of fact the Śakti or Mother cult which presupposes a matriarchal society is supposed to have originated with the Dravidian people among whom mother-kin is

1 तैलिकानां गृहं गत्वा कुम्भकारगृहं तु वा ।
तत्र तत्पतिभिः सार्धं यजेत परमेश्वरीम् ॥
—H.P.S., Nep. I, p. 176, Preface, p. lxi.

2 J.A.S.B., Proceedings, 1921, pp. xxi-xxiv.

still found to be prevalent[3]. B. C. Majumdar has traced goddess Durgā to a non-Aryan source[4]. He has pointed out that Vākpatirāja (8th century) in his *Gauḍavaho* refers to Koli women and the Śabaras as the worshippers of Kālī.

Widely conflicting are the views with regard to the place of origin of the tantra-form of worship whence it spread over all parts of India. In the midst of this confusion we can clearly notice two main groups one suggesting an extra-Indian and the other an indigenous origin.

Several theories have been propounded regarding the extra-Indian origin of the tantras almost all of which are found to point to the North or North-east of India as the probable region from which tantricism travelled into India. A few passages of the tantras themselves seem to support the theory of an extra-Indian origin. Some of them point to the trans-Himaylayan region whence spread the form of worship laid down in the tantras. The cult of Tārā appears from the Sādhanamālā to have been taken from the country of Bhoṭa or Tibet[5]. A story of Vaśiṣṭha's going to the Buddha in Mahācīna for instructions in tantra worship is related in more than one Brahmanic tantra work, e.g., *Rudrayāmala* and *Brahmayāmala*, as quoted in the *Tārā-tantra* (Appendix to Varendra Research Society edition, 1913). The Devībhāgavata (vii. 38, 13) categorically refers to Cīna as the place of origin of the tantric goddess Nīlasarasvatī (तथा नीलसरस्वत्याः स्थानं चीनेषु विश्रुतम्). Kālītantra (xii. 7-10) also seems to indicate that Vāmācāra and Kulācāra have been imported from Cīna or Mahācīna[6]. A Cīna sect of Tantra-worshippers is mentioned in the *Śakti-Saṅgama-Tantra* (5. 92-93). A verse quoted from the *Svatantra-tantra* again states that the lake Colana to the west of mount Meru was the place from which originated the goddess Tārā.[7] Dr. A. H. Francke in his book on the *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* refers to a village Tar (which he believes to be a contraction of Tārā) near Khalatse on the

3 R.P. Chanda, *Indo Aryan Races*, p. 156.

4 J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 355ff.

5 एकजटासाधनं समाप्तमार्य्यनागार्ज्जुनपादैर्भोटेषूद्धृता इति ।

—Hirananda Sastri, The Origin and Cult of Tārā, pp. 14-16

6 Herrmann identifies (Mahā) Cīna with Arabia felix. Fredrich Weller rejects this identification on the authority of a Mongolian text and proposes to identify Cīna with China (*Asia Major*, Vol. iv, pp. 446ff). Also see Sunitikumar Chatterji, JAS, 1959, I, pp. 104-113.

7 मेरोः पश्चिमकूले तु चोत्रनाख्यो ह्रदो महान् ।
तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं तारा देवी नीलसरस्वती ॥

right bank of the Indus on a rock below which people believe they can see twenty one figures of the goddess Tārā which have come into existence of themselves (p. 94). He also refers to a place Meru (p. 67), pronounced Miru, nearby which reminds one of the mount of Meru. There is also a place called Śakti in that region (p. 67).

One of the most important of the tantric deities, viz., Śiva is supposed to have been a trans-Himalayan god[8]. He has a good many Himalayan characteristics. He is pictured as living in Kailāsa attended by the Himalayan gaṇas, yakṣas, gandharvas etc. He marries the daughter of the Himalayas and carries the Ganges on his head. The coins of the Kusans, a trans-Himalayan people, bear the images of Śiva and Nandī. The various foreign peoples who came to India from almost the same region, e.g., the Huns, the Śakas and the Pallavas were all worshippers of Śiva. Mihirkula's coins bear the bull and the trident. The Pallavas have the Nāga ensign and bull standard. The liṅga at Gudimallam, a very ancient one (circa 200 B. C.), has the figure of Śiva with Mongolian features curved on it. The image has plaited hair and no holy thread.[9]

The cult of Kubjikā also seems to have travelled to India from outside; for the deity is found in the *Kubajikāmata* to be entreated to go to Bhāratavarṣa for getting established there.[10]

Mm. H. P. Shastri is of the opinion that the tantra-form of worship was introduced into India by the priests of Turkestan, the local aboriginal religion of which place was ousted by the progress of Islam[11].

Dr. D. B. Spooner traces the origin of Śakti worship to a Persian source. But R. C. Chanda in his *Indo-Aryan Races* (p. 158ff) has sought to refute the theory of Spooner.

According to Hodgson, Tantra elements seem to have been incorporated into Brahmanism and Buddhism from the rude superstitions of the primitive Turanians. "For these superstitions, as still extant among the *disjecta membra* of that population wherever found", says he, "exhibit a prevalent tantric character (mixture of ferocity, lust and mummery) and bear everywhere from Siberia to Ceylon a resemblance that amounts to identity".[12]

8 K. R. Subramnian, *Origin and History of Saiva Cult in the Tamilland*, pp. 25-27.

9 T. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. I. Introduction, p. 6.

10 गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षेऽधिकाराय सर्वतः— H. P. S., Nep. I, Preface, p. LXXIX.

11 Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Vol. XXXVI, p. 15.

12 J.R.A.S., 1861, p. 397.

According to some, the tantra-form of worship was derived from Shamanism with which the doctrines of yoga with its repulsive developments have a close similarity[13].

Coming to the different views about the indigenous origin we find that they range between the farthest North and East.

A Bengal origin of the tantras is supposed by many scholars. "The original home of the tantras", says Prof. Winternitz[14], "seems to have been in Bengal whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal, and even beyond India to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism".

A Bengal origin of the *Mahānirvāṇatantra* is particularly suspected as "in vi. 7, 3 it recommends three species of fish for sacrifice which are found especially in Bengal[15]"

The theory is supposed to be corroborated by a verse of unknown origin which states that tantra-vidyā originated in Bengal, was developed in Mithila and was found to some extent in Maharastra and was destroyed in Gurjara[16]. The statement seems to be rather arbitrary with little factual basis.

The description of some of the sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet again, given in the *Varadā-tantra* (chapter x) as quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* points to Bengal as its probable place of origin. Thus we read that the sound *h* which precedes a *y* has the sound of *jh* and the one preceding a *v* has the sound *bh*. Again *y* beginning words has the sound of *j*. The same thing occurs in words like *Keyūra*[17]. In other cases it is

13 L. D. Barnett, Antiquities of India, p. 17.

14 History of Indian Literature, (English translation, Calcutta University), vol. I, p. 592.

15 Winternitz, *op. cit.* I, p. 592, f.n. 4.

16 गौड़े प्रकाशिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे प्रलयं गता ॥

Quoted by R. C. Chanda in his *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 153 f. n. It appears to be based on a similar verse with regard to the spread of devotion found in the Padmapurāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa, chap. 193, v. 51):

उत्पन्ना द्राविड़े साहं वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे जीर्णतां गता ॥

17 चुतुर्य्यध्वनितामेति यादिस्थे परमेश्वरि ।
पुतुर्य्यध्वनितामेति वादिस्थे तु विशेषतः ॥
यकारश्च तृतीयत्वं पादादौ सर्वदा व्रजेत् ।
केयूरादावपि तथा अन्यत्र कराठमात्रगः ॥

pronounced as a gutteral. It will be seen that these descriptions refer to the pronunciation of Bengal and in some cases (e.g., '*h*' as *bh*) to that of Eastern Bengal.

According to a verse quoted by Jayaratha (12th century) in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, the kaula tantras are said to have issued from Kāmrūpa or Assam[18]. The colophon of the *Mahākaulajñānavinirṇaya* refers to Candradvīpa of Eastern Bengal from which place it issued.

According to the accounts found in some Purāṇas, Liṅga or Phallic worship was first established in Dāruvana or Devadāruvana about the present location of which there is some amount of confusion. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (Pt. II. ch. 37) in giving an account of the origin of the Liṅga places it (v.99) on the peak of the Himalayas. The Ramāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhyā kāṇḍa 43. 13) also seems to point to that region. *Śiva Purāṇa* (I. 56) places it close to the western ocean. And it has been indentified with Aundh in the Nizam's territory[19]. We are also told that it was in Camatkārapura indentified with Baranagara in the district of Gujrat that liṅga worship was first established[20].

It is scarcely possible in the present state of our knowledge to come to a definite conclusion on this knotty problem of Tantric origin. But whatever be the origin the Tantra system of worship has been occupying a position of supreme importance in the religious life of Hindus all over India for at least the last four or five hundred years. The religion of the Hindus has been for a long period of time a composite thing. It is partly Vedic, partly Paurāṇic, and partly Tantric. We have here a superstructure of Purāṇa-Tantra lore on a Vedic substratum with embellishments from different sources, taking different forms in different parts of the country. The Tantras especially exercise a great influence on the religion as practised by the vast majority of the Indian people ; yet they are much maligned and largely misunderstood.

18 भैरव्या भैरवात् प्राप्तं योगं व्याप्य ततः प्रिये ।
तत्सकाशात्तु सिद्धेन मीनाख्येन वरानने ।
कामरूपे महापीठे मच्छन्देन महात्मना ॥
—Kashmir Series Edition, p. 24

19 Archeological Survey List, Nizam's territory, xxxi, 21, 79.

20 N. Dey, Dictionary of Ancient Indian Geography.

CHAPTER VII

TANTRA SCHOOLS

The Tantra-worshippers are divided into various sects and sub-sects according to the deities worshipped and the ritualistic procedure followed. The *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* (V. 92-3) refers to the sects of Vaiṣṇavas, Gāṇapatyas, Śaivas, Svāyambhuvas, Cāndras, Pāśupatas, Cīnas, Jainas, Kālamukhas and Vaidikas. The Śaivas (the worshippers of Śiva), the Śāktas (the worshippers of Śakti or the Divine Mother) and the Vaiṣṇavas (the worshippers of Viṣṇu) are the three principal sects and the Sauras (the worshippers of Sun) and the Gāṇapatyas (the worshippers of Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa) are two minor ones, judged by the number of followers they have. The above sects are again sub-divided into various sub-sects. The characteristics and occasionally even the names of these sub-sects are not definitely known. The worshippers of Śiva are referred to under four groups in the *Bhāmatī* under *Brahmasūtra* II. 2. 37. They are the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the Kāruṇikasiddhāntins and the Kāpālikas. Bhāskarācārya in his commentary on the same sūtra reads Kāṭhakasiddhāntins in place of Kāruṇika-siddhāntins. Śrīnivāsa of the Nimbārka school in his *Vedāntakaustubha* and Vedottama in his *Pañcarātraprāmāṇya* gives an entirely new name in its place, e. g., the Kālāmukhas[1] who are stated to consider as the means of their gaining success in life the following: bathing in ashes of burnt corpses, eating from human skulls, carrying a staff, placing wine-pitchers and worshipping the God presiding over them.[2] The *Vīrāgama* refers to four schools of Śaivas as Sāmānya Śaiva, Pūrvaśaiva, Miśraśaiva and Śuddhaśaiva.[3] Some of the Purāṇas refer to the sects variously as

1 This name occurs as Kālamukha in Guṇaratna's commentary on Haribhadra's *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya* (Bib. Ind., p. 51). We have here a new name, the *Mahāvratadharas*, in place of the Kāpālikas.

2 कालामुखाश्चाहुः भस्मना स्नानं कपालभोजनमीश्वराराधनं कुलधारणमित्यादि विशेषानुष्ठानात् दृष्टादृष्टलक्षणपुरुषार्थावाप्तिरित्ति— *Pañcarātraprāmāṇya.* तथा कालामुखा अपि कपालपात्रभोजनशवभस्मस्नानतत्प्राशनलगुडधारणसुराकुम्भस्थापन-तदाधारदेवतापूजादिकम् ऐहिकामुष्मिकसकलफलसाधनमभिदधति—*Śrībhāṣya* II. 2. 35. Also *Vedānta-kaustubha* of Śrīnivāsa II. 2. 37.

3 आदौ सामान्यशैवं तु पूर्वशैवं द्वितीयकम् ।
मिश्रशैवं तृतीयन्तु शुद्धशैवं चतुर्थकम् ॥
—Descr. Cat. Mad. Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, XI. 5502.

Vāma, Pāśupata, Soma, Lāṅgala, Bhairava, Kāpāla and Nākula.[4] They were considered un-vedic and a two-fold division of the Śaivas as Vedic and un-vedic is laid down in the *Vāyu Saṃhita* as quoted by Appaya under *Brahmasūtra* II. 2. 38. Lāṅgala and Nākula may have reference to the Nakulīśa Pāśupatas whose doctrines are enunciated in works like the *Pāśupatasūtra*, *Gaṇakārikā* and the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*.[5] The Kāpālas or Kāpālikas seem to have been closely related to the Somas, Saumas or Somasiddhāntins.[6] They carried and knew the secrets of the six main *mudrās* and two *upamudrās* or minor *mudrās*. They are the four ornaments of the neck, ear and head (*kaṇṭhikā* or *ghaṇṭikā*, *rucaka*, *kuṇḍala* and *śikhāmaṇi*), ashes, the sacred thread, the skull and the staff.[7] One whose body is marked by these signs is not

4 केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तु भैरवम् ॥

—Attributed by the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* (p. 2 of Rājrājeśvari Press edition, Benares, v.s. 1945) to *Vaśiṣṭhapurāṇa* and *Liṅgapurāṇa* (Ch. IX).

कापालं नाकुलं चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभाः ।
तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥

—Attributed by the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* (p. 13) to *Sūtasaṃhitā* (Yajña-vaibhava-khaṇḍa). It has been identified there as verse 3 of Chap. XXII.

वामं पाशुपतं सोमं लाङ्गलं चैव भैरवम् ।
न सेव्यमेतत् कथितं वेदबाह्यं तथेतरत् ॥

—*Vīramitrodaya* (vol. I. p. 22) and *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita (p. 112) attribute it to *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

5 For information about the sect and its history, cf. Bhandarkar, J.B. Br. R.A.S. vol. 22, p. 151ff; Fleet, JRAS, 1907, p. 419ff; P. C. Divanji, J. A. S. Bombay, Vol. 30, 1955; Journ. Gujrat. Res. Soc., XVII, 1955, No. 4; J.B.R.S., XXXIX, 1953, pp 1-9 In this connection reference may be made to the temple of Nakulīśa Bhairava popularly known as Nakulīśa or Nakuleśvara at Kalighat in Calcutta where the right toes of Satī are stated to have fallen. (नकुलीशः कालीपीठे दक्षपादाङ्गुली मम—ascribed to the Pīṭhamālā or Tantracūḍāmaṇi).

6 For references to this sect and its characteristics, cf. C. Chakravarti, *The Soma or Sauma sect of the Śaivas* (IHQ., VIII, pp. 221-223) and *Prabodhacandrodaya*, Act III.

7 मुद्रिकाषट्कतत्त्वज्ञः परमुद्राविशारदः ।
भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति ॥
कण्ठिका रुचकं चैव कुण्डलं च शिखामणिः ।
भस्म यज्ञोपवीतञ्च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते ॥—*Śrībhāṣya* and *Vedānta-kaustubha* (*loc cit*).

कपालमथ खट्वाङ्गमुपमुद्रे प्रकीर्तिते —*Pañcarātraprāmāṇya*.

Also cf. *Prabodhacandrodaya* (Act III. 12, 13).

born again in this world. A Kāpālika attains to emancipation through the meditation of the supreme being residing in the female organ. He is adorned with garlands of human bones, takes his food from a skull, drinks wine from the skull of a Brahmin, worships Mahābhairava with human sacrifice and offers oblations of human flesh to the fire.

Guṇaratna refers to a number of sub-sects: Bharaṭa, Bhakta, Laiṅgika etc[8]. They do not observe any caste-distinction. But they do not seem to have occupied a position of dignity in society and thirty two stories are related in a work called *Bharaṭakadvātṛṃśikā*[9] to ridicule the Bharaṭas and expose their faults, foolishness and moral depravity.

Of Śaiva schools the Pratyabhijñā school of Kashmir, the followers of Siddhāntāgamas of the south and the Lingayats or the Vīraśaivas deserve special mention. They are well-known for their large following and their rich literature giving exposition of their philosophy and rituals. A noteworthy characteristic of the Vīraśaivas, a comparatively late school, is their obligation to carry the phalus with them. The Mattamāyūra sect that flourished in the 9th century near Gwalior had a good many temples and an extensive literature. Some of their works are found in the Nepal Durbar Library and one work, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, has been published (TSS)[10]. It is not known if the assembly of Pāśupata teachers (*Pāśupatācāryapariṣat*) to which a land grant[11] was made by Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has reference to any particular sect.

The schools of Śakti-worshippers and their forms of worship are also numerous and bewildering. We have the Divya, Vīra, Paśu, Dakṣiṇa, Vāma, Cīna, Kula, Samaya forms of worship, the Pārānanda school, the Kādimata, the Hādimata, the Gauḍa way, the Kerala way, the Kashmir way, the Kāpālikas, the Digambaras and the Kṣapaṇakas. The connotations of these terms are not always clear and definite. Different and sometimes contradictory interpretations are given. This is particularly due to the existence of divergent views regarding the merits of the forms of worship prescribed by the different schools.

The Paśu or animal form of worship which appears to occupy a rather inferior position in the Tantra system is the usual normal type meant for the beginner as distinguished from the Vīra or heroic and

8 *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, Bib. Ind., p. 51.

9 Edited by J. Hertel, Leipzig, 1921. Bloody and orgiastic rites of the Śaivas are referred to in the beginning of the Yaśodharacarita of Māṇikyasūri.

10 Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore 1930, Vol. I, p. 81.

11 Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 61ff.

Divya or divine types consisting of apparently sensuous and fearful rites. Vīra rituals can be undertaken only by heroic persons who are undaunted in performing tasks like sitting on corpses in a cemetery on a dark night and carrying on worship there with full concentration. There is little difference, it is stated, between a Divya and a Vīra, the only difference being that the former is peaceful, modest, sweet, handsome and almost divine while the latter is haughty[12]. The philosophical background of a Vīra is stated to be the total annihilation of the conception of dualism.[13] A Vīra is unflinching under all conditions in his quest for the eternal soul and is of three kinds in accordance with the degree of one's zeal and devotion.[14] Inspite of this high idealism meant for a Vīra he was not universally respected. A Brahmin, it was held, should not take to any path other than that prescribed for a Paśu. And if a Brahmin ever performs Vīra rites he will have to use substitutes, such as milk for wine[15].

There appears to have been a good deal of confusion and uncertainty with regard to the etymology and exact connotation of the term Kula. In the different interpretations proposed in different places it is connected with one or other of the various senses in which the word is commonly used. According to some kula refers to family and the form of worship as handed down by family tradition is Kaula being connected with kula.[16] The *Nirvāṇatantra* seems to go further. The rites as prescribed in a particular region or with reference to a particular deity, it suggests, are kula rites and those who follow them are kaulikas.[17] Kula rites, it

12 दिव्ये वीरे न भेदोऽस्ति यद् भेदं तत् तु कथ्यते ।
शान्तो विनीतो मधुरः कलालावण्यसंयुतः ॥
दिव्यस्तु देववत् प्रायो वीरश्चोद्धतमानसः ॥—*Puraścaryārṇava*, p. 862-3.

13 इदन्तारिपोरहमि समराङ्गणे प्रलयप्रतिपादनपरा वीराः । तदुक्तं परापञ्चाशिकायाम्
अहमि प्रलयं कुर्वन्निदमः प्रतियोगिनः ।
पराक्रमपरो भुङ्क्ते स्वभावमशिवापहम् ॥ —*Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, I. 65.

14 Setubandha VII. 1, 17.

15 ब्राह्मणस्य तु पशुभावान्यभावाश्रयणे निन्दाश्रवणात्—*Puraścaryārṇava*, p. 855.
एवञ्च वीरब्राह्मणस्य हेतुस्थाने क्षीरमेव—*Ibid.*, p. 858.

16 स्वस्ववंशपरम्पराप्राप्तो मार्गः कुलसम्बन्धित्वात् कौलः
—*Saubhāgyabhāskara* on verse 144.

17 यस्मिन् देशे तु यद्द्वारो निर्दिष्टो मन्त्रसाधने ।
तद्द्वारेण विशिष्टो यः कौलिकः स च [कीर्तितः] ॥ —Paṭala XI.
Alternate readings *deva* and *ācāra* for *deśa* and *dvāra* are also known.

would follow, are no speciality with the Śakti-worshippers and worshippers of other deities also have them including what are called the five *tattvas*, which for the Vaiṣṇavas are *gurutattva*, *mantra*°, *varṇa*°, *deva*° and *dhyāna*°[18] instead of meat, wine etc.

Through the sense multitude Kula is supposed to refer to the Śāstra which expounds the group of objects comprising the knower, known and knowledge or the worshipped and the worshipper[19] 'Body' is given as a sense of kula and hence those who have to know the secret of the body as serving a great purpose are stated to be kaulas,[20] A yogic interpretation suggests *ādhāracakra* as the sense of kula which is a combination of *ku* (the principle of the earth) and *līyate* (is submerged).[21] The interpretation which comes very close to the sense generally associated with the word is that Kaula is the relation of *akula* (*Śiva*) with reference to *kula* (*śakti*).[22] It will be noticed that the characteristics of Kula form of worship of the Divine Mother consisting of apperently revolting practices are not specifically referred to in any of the above-mentioned interpretations which inspite of their differences are supposed to give a consistent account of the system and its ideals.

The followers of the Kula path, the Kaulas, are divided into various sub-sects such as Pūrvakaulas, Uttarakaulas, Kāpālikas, Digambaras and Kṣapaṇakas. The Pūrvakaulas take recourse to symbolic representations while the Uttarakaulas, the Digambaras and Kṣapaṇakas participate in crude worship of the sex-organ.[23] They consider themselves identified

18 *Nirvāṇatantra*, Paṭala XII. Also cf. RASB, VIII. 5888.

19 कुलं सजातीयसमूहः। स चैकज्ञानविषयत्वरूपसाजात्यापन्नज्ञातृज्ञेय-ज्ञानरूपत्रयात्मकः।·········ततश्च सा त्रिपुटी कुलमित्युच्यते।......उपास्योपासकवस्तुजातस्य चित्त्वेन साजात्यात् तत्समुदाय-प्रतिपादकं शास्त्रमपि कुलम्।

—*Saubhāgyabhāskara*, verses 87-88.

20 कुलं शरीरं महाप्रयोजनहेतुतया ज्ञेयं येषां ते कौलाः। तदुक्तं स्वच्छन्दसंग्रहे शरीरं कुलमित्युक्तम्। —*Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, II. 78.

21 कुः पृथिवीतत्त्वं लीयते यत्र तत् कुलमाधारचक्रम्। तत्त्वरणया सुषुम्नामार्गः कुलमित्युच्यते। अतएव कौलाः कूलपूजका आधारसेवका इति कौलत्वं तेषामिति रहस्यम्।
—Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*, verse 10.

22 कुलं शक्तिरिति प्रोक्तम् अकुलं शिव उच्यते।
कुलेऽकुलस्य सम्बन्धः कौलमित्यभिधीयते॥
इति तन्त्रोक्तं शिवशक्तिसामरस्यं वा कौलम्। —*Saubhāgyabhāskara*, verses 87-88.

23 Lakṣmīdhara, verse 41, p. 130.

with Śiva and Devī at the time of worship and become naked like the deity worshipped.[24] The Digambaras are stated to have been a sub-sect of the Kāpālikas and the Kṣapaṇakas one of the Digambaras. Reference is made to the literature of each of these sects[25]. They follow Vāmācāra or leftist way of worship which is not held in esteem in all quarters. The disrepute of the Vāmas is due to their setting at naught the five daily Vedic sacrifices.[26] Vāmācāra is considered essential in the worship of the goddess Tārā; but the rite of offering one's own blood to a deity, provided for in the worship of goddess Kālī is prohibited here.[27] All these rites are supposed by their antagonists to have been primarily meant for Śūdras and other lower class people and not for Brahmins who are required to follow the Paśu and Dakṣiṇa ways of worship. As a matter of fact they were supported by some and decried by others. We have works (Madras, XII. 5720-21) which seek to show that Vāmācāra is not unvedic or suggest spiritual interpretation for the rites. And there are works like the *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana* and *Kaulagajamardana* of Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa which unequivocally condemn them.

Mahācīnācāra, one of the many forms of Cīnācāra, is akin to Kulācāra. It does not lay down any rules regarding the time and place of worship, personal cleanliness and the food to be taken. Worship is allowed to be performed on an unholy spot by a person who has taken his food but not his bath and enjoys full liberty of movement.[28]

√Samayācāra as distinguished from Kulācāra is concerned with internal worship or meditation. It has nothing to do with external worship or rituals including muttering of mantras, *homa* and *puraścaraṇa*. It lays stress on mental performance of the rites,[29] which is very difficult

24 साधकानां ताभ्यां तादात्म्येनावस्थानम्। अतएव कौला विन्दुपूजावसरे भैरवाकारं दिगम्बरत्वमाश्रित्य समर्चयन्ति स्त्रीपुरुषाः—Lakṣmīdhara, p. 130 f. n.

25 Lakṣmīdhara, p. 82-84. A Digambara who is also called a Kṣapaṇaka, associated with rituals like human sacrifice, is mentioned in *Vikrama's Adventures* (HOS, 27, story 31).

26 वामा वाममार्गरतास्त एव पञ्चयज्ञविलोपकत्वात् कुत्सिता इति वामकाः
—*Saubhāgyabhāskara*, v. 225.

27 *Tārārahasya*, Basumati edition, p. 76, 117.

28 *Puraścaryārṇava*, pp. 843 ff.

29 समयाचारो नाम आन्तरपूजारतिः। कुलाचारो नाम बाह्यपूजारतिरिति रहस्यम्। —Lakṣmīdhara, p. 16.

समयिनां मन्त्रस्य पुरश्चरणं नास्ति। जपो नास्ति। बाह्यहोमोऽपि नास्ति। बाह्यपूजाविधयो न सन्त्येव। हृत्कमल एव सर्वं यावदनुष्ठेयम्। —Lakṣmīdhara, p. 110.

and can be known only from the preceptor.[30] It is dealt with in the 'five auspicious texts' (*śubhāgamapañcaka*) associated with the names of Vaśiṣṭha, Sanaka, Śuka, Sanandana and Sanatkumāra. Several types may be distinguished among the followers of this path. Appayadīkṣita in the beginning of his *Śivārcanacandrikā* refers to two classes of Samayins, the Sāmānya or general and Viśiṣṭa or special. The *Śaiva-siddhāntaparibhāṣā* (p. 5) does not recognise the right of a Samayin to the śāstras as he has not risen above the status of a Paśu. Lakṣmīdhara (p. 75) refers to a section of Samayins who participate in external worship and Bhāskararāya to one sanctioning the use of wine (*Tripurā-mahopaniṣadbhāṣya*—15). According to the *Samayācāratantra* Samayā is hemp ceremonial use of which is eulogised. Samayā is also stated to have reference to Pārvatī and Samaya to Śiva.[31]

The Pārānanda or Paramānanda school is similar to the Samayins in some respects though it is characterised by certain peculiarities. It taboos *nyāsas* or particular types of ritualistic details and *hiṁsā* or killing of 'moveable and immoveable objects.' When a sacrifice is prescribed an inanimate object should be offered in place of an animate one. Thus an image made of cake should be sacrificed when a goat is ordained. Kings however, are allowed to take part in war, kill ferocious wild beasts giving trouble to people residing in hermitages and sacrifice them before the goddess Kālī. Different orders of the school are mentioned, Uttarācāra, Vāmācāra and Dakṣiṇācāra. The names given to people of the first order end in *ānanda* and to those of the second in *nātha*. There are two sections of the second, the superior and the inferior. Of the five *makāras*, *māṁsa* (meat) and *matsya* (fish) are prohibited for the former as these seem to have been regarded as more objectionable than the rest. Instructions given in the Vedas, Smṛtis and Purāṇas are to be strictly observed by the followers of the school, especially by those of Dakṣiṇācāra.[32]

Kādimata which pertains to the deity Kādi or to mantras beginning with the letter *k* is distinguished from Hādimata and Kahādi-mata pertaining to mantras beginning with *h* or *k-h* as also from

30 गुरुमुखकवेद्यः समयाचारः—*Saubhāgyabhāskara*, verse 88.

31 समया नाम शम्भुना साम्यं पञ्चविधं यातीति समया। समयत्वं शम्भोरपि पञ्चविधं साम्यं देव्या सह यातीति।—Lakṣmīdhara, p. 131.

32 For further details see *Paramānanda-matasaṃgraha*, a hitherto unknown work of the Pārānanda School (Appendix).

Kālīmata and Kaulamata[33]. It is stated to be superior to Hādimata[34]. The Sammohatantra enumerates the regions in which Kādimata and Hādimata were respectively prevalent[35]. Of other schools the Gauḍas have the peculiar practice of worshipping with the left hand.[36] The Gauḍa, the Kāśmīra and the Kerala schools are distinguished by subtle ritualistic differences.

The Pañcarātra school occupies a very important position among the Vaiṣṇavas. An illuminating account of the school has been given by Otto Schrader in his *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Adyar, 1916). Pañcarātra, which is Sāttvika by nature is superior to Vaikhānasa which is Tāmasika (*Īśvarasaṃhitā*, I. 62). Different derivative senses of the term are suggested. 'The five other great śāstras', according to the *Padmatantra* (I. 1.69), 'are like darkness' in the presence of this, therefore it is usually known by the name *Pañcarātra*. The *Nāradapañcarātra* (I. I. 44) would interpret *Pañcarātra* as the śāstra which expounds five types of knowledge.[37] It is to be noted that the term is found to be used in connection with sects other than the Vaiṣṇavas as well. There are Pañcarātra works associated with the names of deities like Śiva, Devī, Gaṇeśa Brahman and Mahākāla.[38] The *Nāradapañcarātra* (I. 1. 56-7)

33 कादिकालीति शक्ती स्तः पुरा तत्तन्मतान्मया ।
प्रोक्ते तन्त्रे कादिकालीमताख्ये तेन नामतः ॥
—Tantrarājatantra (I. 5-6) which is also called *Kādimatatantra* (I.O. IV. 2538).

ताश्च भावना यद्यपि कादिकौलमतभेदेन द्विलक्षणाः ।...कादिनामकशक्तिमतरीत्यैव न तु कौलमतेन—Bhāskara's commentary on *Bhāvanopaniṣad* (Avalon's ed.) pp. 17-8, 35.

34 *Varivasyārahasya*, p. 10.

35 Bagchi P. C., *Studies on the Tantras*, p. 47, 98.

36 पूजनं वामहस्तेन दक्षहस्तेन तर्पणम् —*Puraścaryārṇava*, p. 866.

37 रात्रञ्च ज्ञानवचनं ज्ञानं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ।
तेनेदं पञ्चरात्रञ्च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥
For other senses see Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

38 शिवपञ्चरात्र, देवीपञ्चरात्र, गणेशपञ्चरात्र, ब्रह्मपञ्चरात्र—*Kavīndrācārya List* (G.O. Series), p. 23. The *Mahākālapañcarātra* (ASB, V. 4199A) pertains to Śakti.

enumerates seven kinds of Pañcarātra of which three are connected with the names of Brahma, Śiva and Kumāra. Śiva is required in the *Śivarātrivrata* to be worshipped according to Pañcarātra rules.[39]

The implication of the term Saptarātra used along with Pañcarāṭra in the *Agnipurāṇa* (39.1) is not clear.

39 पञ्चरात्रविधानेन मूलमन्त्रेण चैव हि ।

पूजयेन्मां यथाशक्ति नृत्यगीतादिभिर्नरः ॥

—*Śivarātrivratakathā* attributed to the *Śivarahasya*.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE OF THE TANTRAS

The Tantras are stated to have constituted a vast literature only a small portion of which is known and a still smaller fraction has been critically studied. An indication of this vastness is made in the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (I. 22) which refers to the number of Tantra works as millions. Avalon who quotes the views of orthodox scholars puts the number as one lakh or more (*Principles of Tantras*, I. p. 392). We have different lists of Tantra works classed under different groups. A regional grouping would place sixty-four works in each of the regions called Aśvakrāntā (Vindhya to Mahācīna), Viṣṇukrāntā (Vindhya to Caṭṭala, and Rathakrāntā (Vindhya to the great Ocean)[1]. A classification according to mythological periods of time is also mentioned. We are told certain Tantras are meant for certain periods of time like Vārāhakalpa, Kālakalpa etc. and there are sixty-four Tantras enumerated in the *Mahāsiddhisārasvatatantra*[2] which are efficacious for all times. A five-fold or six-fold division (*pañcāmnāya* or *ṣaḍāmnāya*) is based on the origin of the works from the different mouths (and their different positions) of Lord Śiva. It is stated that the different *āmnāyas* dealt with different deities and rites[3].

There are separate lists of works for the various sects. The lists of 64 Kaula tantras as given in the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (I. 14-22) and as quoted by Lakṣmīdhara under verse 31 of the *Saundaryalaharī* though agreeing in general have occasional differences which are aggravated by controversies among commentators making it impossible to form an accurate idea about the names and nature of contents of the works. *Bhairavāṣṭaka*, for example, is supposed by Bhāskararāya to refer to one work while according to others it has reference to eight works on the names of which there is no agreement. *Yāmalāṣṭaka* and *Yamalāṣṭaka* are two variants giving rise to exegetical differences. Even of the eight yāmalas we have varying lists. Bhāskararāya quoting *Artharatnāvalī* gives the names as Brahma°, Viṣṇu°, Rudra°, Lakṣmī°, Umā°, Skanda°, Gaṇeśa° and Jayadratha°. The *Samayācāratantra* (RASB,

1 Avalon, *Principles of Tantras*, I, Introduction, p. LXV.

2 Quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word *tantra*.

3 *Haratattvadīdhiti*, pp. 379-81. The °*dīdhiti* does not agree with the *Śabdakalpadruma* in details. *Kulārṇava* (III. 41-44) refers to the characteristics of the *āmnāyas*.

VIII. 5920) has Yāmalas associated with the names of Sūrya and Candra instead of Lakṣmī and Jayadratha[4].

According to the *Sammoha Tantra* Cīna possesses hundred primary and seven subsidiary Tantras, Draviḍa has twenty primary and twenty five subsidiary, Kerala has sixty principal and five hundred subsidiary ones[5]. The *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* gives the number of āgamas as eighteen[6]. In the *Merutantra* (I. 21) Mahādeva declares that he composed tantras numbering one hundred and eight.[7]

The Siddhānta āgamas of the south are twenty eight in number. Their names and extent are mentioned in different works[8] though there is no unanimity among them. They are called Siddhāntas as they are supposed to embody the logical conclusion (*Siddhānta*) as a result of an analysis of the views contained in other Śāstras[9]. The *Śivārkamaṇi-dīpikā*, however, commenting on Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 38) seeks to prove, on the authority of the *Vāyusaṃhitā* which it quotes, the unvedic character and consequent unauthoritativeness of these works.

The number of āgamas of the Pañcarātra school is generally stated to be one hundred and eight. But on a comparison of different lists the number would come to over two hundred as in the amalgamated list compiled by Schrader (*op. cit.*) who has also mentioned a number of works not found in any list. There may be still more works not met with in Schrader's list. One is *Devāmṛta-pañcarātra* (HPS. Nep., I, p. 34, 106) which in the form of an interlocution between Sanatkumāra and Lokapitāmaha deals with Viṣṇu temples and consecration of images of Viṣṇu.

As a matter of fact, the lists mentioned above do not give a complete picture of the literature of the Tantras. Many works outside the lists occupy important places in the history of the various schools. Schools

4 The *Vārāhītantra* as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* mentions only six Yāmalas: Ādi°, Brahma°, Viṣṇu°, Rudra°, Gaṇeśa° and Āditya°. It also counts six Dāmaras: Yoga°, Śiva°, Durgā°, Sarasvatī, Brahma° and Gandharva° in place of three of the *Samayācāra* (*loc. cit.*), viz, Uḍḍīśa°, Bhūta° and Śakti°.

5 Bagchi, *Studies on the Tantras*, p. 48, 100.

6 Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

7 I.O., IV., p. 381.

8 Madras, XI, 5419-20. Appayadīkṣita, *Śivārcana-candrikā* (Saradavilas Press, Kumbakonam), p. 103 f.

9 तेषां पूर्वपक्षीकृतसकलशास्त्रान्तराणां गोपङ्कजादिवत् योगरूढिभ्यां सिद्धान्तशब्द-वाच्यत्वं सुप्रसिद्धम्—*Śaivasiddhāntaparibhāṣā* (Śivāgamaparipālana-saṃgha, Devakoṭṭa), p. 6.

not covered by the lists also have considerable amounts of literature of their own. Of course, the works included in the lists or referred to elsewhere are not all available or known in any way. Some of them exist only in names. But the amount of extant literature is also not small. It may be divided into several sections: Upaniṣads, sūtras, original tantras, digests, ritualistic manuals, exegetical works and independent treatises.

There are quite a good number of Tantric Upaniṣads belonging to different schools—Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Śāktas—and more than sixty have been published.[10] It is not known how many of them, if any at all, belonged to the Upaniṣadic age. All of them follow the style of composition of the Upaniṣads, but the language often appears to be late. That some of them were commented on by a Tantric scholar like Bhāskararāya testifies to their importance among followers of the Tantras. Besides commenting on a few Bhāskara refers to some others pertaining to the cults of Śakti and other deities (*Setubandha*, pp. 4-5). In his opinion, as the Tantric Upaniṣads have their counterpart in Vedic Upaniṣads, works like the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (G. O. S.) of the Tantra system stand on a par with the Vedic Kalpasūtras associated with the names of Āśvalāyana and others.

Works of the sūtra type are comparatively small in number. The Śrividyāratnasūtra and the Pārānanda-sūtra of the Śāktas, the Pāśupata-sūtra and the Śivasūtra of the Śaivas have been published[11]. A *Śāmbhavasūtra* has been referred to by Śaṅkara in his *Tārārahasyavṛttikā*. The *Śaktisūtra* (HPS. Nep., I. p. 18) appears to lay down the rules of worship of Śakti. These Sūtras are of unknown dates and authorship. The Śrīvidyāratnasūtra is attributed to Gauḍapādācārya and the sūtras of the Śivasūtra are stated to have been found by Vasugupta inscribed on a rock of which information was given in a dream by the author Śiva himself.

The original Tantras are regarded as having emanated from divine authors. They are usually in the form of interlocutions between deities or between deities and sages. But all works passing as Tantras are not equally authoritative. There are genuine as well

10 Adyar Library Series of Madras and Tantrik Texts Series of Calcutta. Avowedly non-sectarian Upaniṣads are also sometimes interpreted from the Tantric point of view. Cf. Avalon's edition of the *Īśopaniṣat* with the commentary of Kaulācārya Satyānanda (Luzac and Co., London, 1918).

11 Cf. Saraswati Bhavan Series of Benares No. 11 ; G.O.S., Vol. LVI; T.S.S., No. CXLIII ; Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. I. For variant readings of the *Pāśupatasūtra* cf. IHQ., Vol. XIX, p. 270-1. We have reference to the *Agastya-sūtra* belonging to the Kādimata (V.R.R. Dikshitar, *The Lalita Cult*, pp. 56, 78).

as spurious works, old as well as very late ones. It is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. In this connection references made in digests, especially old and well-known ones, are very helpful in assessing the proper value of a particular work. Critical editions and studies of Tantric texts are still a desideratum making it impossible to tackle the problem satisfactorily. Even a cursory glance through the works in print or in manuscript brings to light quite a number of interesting points. Occasionally we come across different recensions or different parts of the same work in different editions or manuscripts without any clear indication anywhere. Sometimes the genuineness of the text of a particular edition or manuscript may be doubted. Though it may not be possible to arrive at any definite conclusion the facts may be brought together for an appreciation of the actual position. Quite a number of topics, especially *stotras* and *kavacas*, assigned to well-known works are not met with in their printed editions or manuscripts other than those containing them exclusively and independently. Verses quoted in digests and attributed to particular works are not always traceable in the latter. Kulārṇava verses in the *Kaulāvalī* of Jñānānanda Paramahaṁsa (IX, 31 ff) and in the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa in its sections on the determination of the *pakṣa* for initiation and on denunciation of the uninitiated may be cited as examples. Of course the indications of the sources in cases like those mentioned above are not always dependable and they vary not infrequently from manuscript to manuscript. Besides, disagreement between different manuscripts of the same work is also not inconsiderable. The first four chapters of the *Vīratantra* generally agree in all the three manuscripts of the work belonging to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. There is, however, a good deal of discrepancy with regard to the contents and arrangement of the remaining chapters.[12]

The existence of different works with the same title is also not unknown. A manuscript of a *Kulārṇavatantra* complete in twelve chapters differing substantially from the printed work of the same name having seventeen chapters is known.[13] A number of verses in the former are found to agree with those in the *Kālītantra*.[14] This *Kulārṇava*

12 RASB, VIII, Introduction, p. XIX.

13 ABORI, Vol. XIII, pp. 208-10.

14 Similar agreements are met with in some other works as well, particularly with regard to texts dealing with Kula rites. Cf. *Nīlatantra* VII, *Bṛhannīlatantra* VII, VIII and *Gandharvatantra* XXXV. Also cf. *Kriyoḍḍīśa* (Ch. XVI) with *Phetkāriṇī* (Ch. XX). Some of the tantras are found to contain verses or adapta-

may represent a different version or rather another portion of the big work of which only a fifth is stated to be available in the published editions. It would appear that only parts of some works are known as the second part of the *Rudrayāmala*. That the existence of more than one version of the *Kulārṇava* was recognised seems to be evident from the introductory portion of the *Kaulāvalī* which refers to *Kulārṇava* twice in course of enumerating the works on which it is based.[15]

The language of the Tantras have a number of peculiarities, morphological as well as semantic. Forms not sanctioned by classical grammar are generally explained as *Chāndasa* or Vedic. We have reference to or manuscripts of Vyākaraṇa works pertaining to this language, e.g., *Tantravyākaraṇa* or *mantravyākaraṇa* of Gautama referred to by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* (I. 4, XVII. 148), *Bījavyākaraṇa* or *Śaivavyākaraṇa*[16] (I.O., IV. 2570-72). These however do not appear to be strictly grammatical works. They deal with the mystic senses of the letters of the alphabet and they owe their title presumably to the fact that they are concerned with the analysis (*vyākaraṇa*) of words. There are again a number of works explaining the word symbols used for letters of the alphabet constituting mantras of Tantric worship.[17] But inspite of these lexicographical aids the enigmatic language of the Tantras especially in connection with the description of secret rites is unintelligible except with the help of commentaries and digests which incidentally explain the intricate points. Portions appear to have been purposely made unintelligible by arranging the syllables in a verse or part of it in a *Vyākulākṣara* or disorderly way (cf. *Tantrarājatantra*, VII. 72-90, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, VIII. 199, 205, 208, *Kaulāvalī*, IV. 28, V. 102).

The number of exegetical works written on the Tantras is rather small, as all knowledge of them was to be acquired directly from a teacher. We have several commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*

tions thereof from different works like the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Manusaṃhitā*, the *Pañcatantra* etc. Cf. *Kulārṇava*, I. 54. 55, 69, II. 62, 139, IX. 24. Also Cf. *Manu* II, 146 with a similar verse in *Nīlatantra* VI, *Bṛhannīlatantra* III, *Phetkāriṇītantra* XI and *Manu* II, 212 with one in *Bṛhannīla* III.

15 Similar repetitions of titles are found also elsewhere. See Schrader, *Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, p. 13. Though rather unusual versions of some later works like the *Kaulāvalī* of Jñānānanda Paramahaṃsa and *Mantracandrikā* of Janārdana are also known (*Ind. Cult.*, III. 518-20 ; RASB, VIII, pp. XVIII-XIX).

16 *Śaivavvyākaraṇa* is also mentioned in inscriptions of Cambodia (Bagchi, P. C., *Studis on the Tantras*, p. 16).

17 *Tantrābhidhāna* (Tantrik Texts Series, No. I). Also cf. RASB, VIII, 6293 ff.

or parts thereof. Of these Bhāskararāya's commentary[18] on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārnava* section deserves special mention. It is based, as stated in the beginning, on previous commentaries of which there were many though all defective. An earlier commentary, the *Dīpikā* on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* or concluding portion of the work, by Amṛtānandanātha, disciple of Puṇyānandanātha of Kashmir, author of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa*, has also been published.[19] One anonymous commentary dated 1354 A.D. is noticed by H. P. Shastri (Nep. I., p. 71) and a few others are also known.[20] Of the few commentaries on the *Tantrarājatantra* one is by a lady Prāṇamañjarī,[21] wife of Premanidhi Pantha, a rather unique thing in the history of Tantra literature. There are a number of important commentaries on hymns (*stotras*) which give valuable information on Tantric matters. The commentaries on the *Saundaryalaharī* by Lakṣmīdhara[22] and on the *Lalitāsahasranāmastotra*,[23] though not by itself a Tantra work, by Bhāskararāya are indispensable to all students of Tantras.

Digests occupy a very important place in the literature of the Tantras. They give systematic and detailed accounts of Tantra rituals. They may be grouped in three classes: (1) Comprehensive and general works dealing with Tantra worship in general and worship of various deities in particular, (2) Works dealing with particular deities, (3) Works dealing with particular rites, mudrās, yantras etc. Their number is a legion and some of them were compiled as late as the 19th century. They hail from different parts of the country testifying to the widespread popularity of the Tantras and their rituals. Very few of them however were known over a wide range of the country most of them being generally confined to small localities. Under the former group may be mentioned the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to the great Śaṅkarācārya[24] and the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇa Deśika. They occupy very

18 Published in the Anandasram Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1908.

19 Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 7, Benares, 1924.

20 CS, V. 20 ; Cat. Cat., I. 563.

21 An edition of the first chapter was published by Dr.J.B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta, 1940).

22 Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore, No. 11. According to Gangahari's commentary on the work (L. II. 750, HPS, I. 28) Śaṅkara wrote the hymn to propitiate Śakti as he had become deformed as a result of her refutation by him.

23 Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. Another commentary on a non-tantric work, the commentary on the *Devībhāgavata* by Nīlakaṇṭha, also contains much useful information regarding the Tantras.

24 Published in the *Memorial Edition of the Works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya*, Vols. 19-20, (Vanivilas Press, Sreerangam) and in the Tantrik Texts Series, Vols. 3, 18, 19.

high positions in the literature on the Tantras. They are not of the type of other digests which quote from various texts in support of their statements. These are independent compositions based on the Tantras and presenting summaries of their contents. There are about half a dozen commentaries on the former including one[25] attributed to Padmapādācārya, well-known disciple of Śaṅkara.

We do not know much about Lakṣmaṇa Deśika[26], author of the Śāradātilaka, except that he was the son of Śrīkṛṣṇa, grandson of Ācārya Paṇḍita, great grandson of Mahābala and disciple of Utpalācārya. Of commentators on the work Rāghavabhaṭṭa has left some details about himself and his family of scholars belonging to Mahārāṣṭra. His father migrated to Varanasi where Rāghava who was versed in different branches of Sanskrit literature composed his famous commentary in 1550 V.S. (=1494 A.D,).[27] The tradition of scholarship of the family appears to have been inherited by the descendants of Rāghava whose grandson, Vaidyanātha, was the author of the *Bhuvaneśīkalpalatā*, a tantra digest pertaining to the deity Bhuvaneśvarī (RASB, VIII, 6383).

There is difference in the number and arrangement of the chapters in the editions as well as in manuscripts (I. O., IV. 2561, H.P.S. Nep., I. p. 117). The author is generally referred to in different works as Ācārya and Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanīyopaniṣad* refers to the *Prapañcasāra* as his own work. See *Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat*, V. 205 ff.

25 Published in the Tantrik Texts Series, Vols. 18, 19. The commentary is referred to by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* (VI, 49, 57, 62-3 etc.) and by Bhāskararāya in his *Saubhāgyabhāskara* (p. 27, 99). In some mss the name of the author is given as Jñānasvarūpa (RASB, VIII, 6173-4)

26 He might have been the author also of the *Tārāpradīpa* written as a supplement to the *Śāradā* (*Ind. Cult.*, V. 212-13).

27 Tantrik Texts Series, Vol. 16, 17. Rāghava is stated to have been the author of some other commentaries as well, e.g., commentaries on the *Līlāvatī*, the *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* etc. An independent work by him seems to be the *Kālītattva* or *Kālīrahasya* (*Cat. Cat.* I. 99) which deals with the details of the worship of Kālī (*Ind. Cult.*, V. 213-4). He was preceded by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, author of another commentary on the *Śāradā* (Avalon's Introduction to Tantrik Texts Series Ed., p. 1).

CHAPTER IX

TANTRIC AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

It is now proposed to give an account of the more important Tantric authors (other than the few already mentioned) and the works produced by them which will be helpful in making an assessment of the works in their proper perspective. The names of authors present peculiar difficulties in ascertaining their actual identity. The same person is not infrequently known by different names, pre-initiation and post-initiation. In a number of cases both these names are available,[1] while in others we know only one of the names. Thus different works of the same author sometimes seem to belong to different authors.[2] It will be noticed that there was a regular flow of writers during the last few centuries almost all over the country. A number of big landlords and wealthy men are found to have compiled or taken initiative in the compilation of several digests. As regards the subject-matter of the works it is more or less stereotyped very few possessing anything new or interesting. We shall take up the authors of the different parts of the country separately.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Parivrājakācārya seems to have been the earliest Bengali writer of a Tantra digest. Unfortunately, the proper name of the writer is not known. His only work that has come down is the *Kāmyayantroddhāra*. A manuscript of the work described by Mm. H. P. Shastri was copied in Śaka 1297 (A.D. 1375, HPS, III. 53).

The most important name in Bengal as a Tāntric author is that of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa. He is usually supposed to have been a contemporary of Śrī Caitanya (A.D. 1485-1533), though some scholars would assign him to a much later date.[3] He is supposed to have con-

1 Ādyānandana—Navamīsiṃha (RASB, VIII. 6353). Vidyānandanātha—Śrīnivāsa (*op. cit.*, 6340), Cidānandanātha–Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa (*op. cit.*, 6346). Śaṅkarānandanātha—Śambhubhaṭṭa (*op. cit.*, 6348). Bhairavānanda—Rāmabhaṭṭa (*op. cit.*, 6349), Nijātmānandanātha—Mallikārjuna (*op. cit.*, 6351), Śivānandanātha—Kāśīnatha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa, Bhāsurānandanātha—Bhāskararāya.

2 Thus Prof. Peterson thought that the *Saubhāgyaratnākara* of Vidyānanda was the work of one who was different from Śrīnivāsa (*Ulwar*, 2444).

3 Hunter, *Statistical Account*, Vol. II, p. 156; JGJRI, Vol. I, pp. 177 ff; JRASB, Vol. XIV, pp. 74 ff. Gopāla Pañcānana, probably grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda, was the author of the *Tantradīpikā* (RASB, VIII, 6230) and Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, stated to be a later descendant, compiled in the 19th century, the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, a comprehensive tantra digest, under the auspices of Prankrishna Biswas, a Zaminder.

ceived and introduced, through divine inspiration, the image of Kālī, as she is now worshipped in Bengal. His *Tantrasāra*[4] is the most comprehensive and popular of the numerous digests that are known in Bengal. It is regarded as highly authoritative, and all Tāntric worship is performed according to the injunctions contained in it. A few manuscripts of the work have been found in non-Bengali scripts, and outside Bengal, indicating thereby the extent of its popularity. The book deals with all kinds of Tāntric rites, such as initiation, worship proper, and *kulācāra*, contains hymns of various gods and goddesses, and describes their *yantras* (mystic diagrams). Many of the gods and goddesses, the processes of whose worship have been given in the book, are now very little known. Nor are the images of many of them known to have been found. It quotes long extracts from a good many original Tantras and digests, many of which are now known only in name. No author is mentioned by name ; one is referred to as *Tantra-kaumudīkāra*.

Brahmānanda Giri was the *guru* or spiritual guide of Pūrṇānanda, who flourished towards the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Brahmānanda therefore flourished in the second, if not the first, quarter of that century. He was himself the disciple of Tripurānanda. It is not known if the *Tantrasāra*, referred to in his *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī*, is identical with the celebrated work of the same name by Kṛṣṇānanda. Of his works, the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī*[5] deals in eighteen chapters with the various rites to be performed in connection with the worship of Śakti. His *Tārārahasya*,[6] in four sections, deals with the worship of Tārā and her various forms. Incidentally, it deals with *prātaḥ kṛtya* (rites to be performed every morning) and initiation, meant for the worshipper of Tārā.

Purṇānanda Paramahaṁsa Parivrājaka was a great saint and a well-known Tantric compiler of the sixteenth century. His date is definitely known from two of his works, namely, *Śāktakrama* and *Śrītattva-cintāmaṇi*, the former of which was composed, as is recorded in its concluding verse, in Śaka 1493 (A.D. 1571), and the latter, in Śaka 1499 (A.D. 1577), as the author says in the beginning of the work. He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Rāḍhīya section hailing from Katihali, a village

4 Editions in Bengali script by Rasikmohan Chatterji (Calcutta, 1285 B.S.), Bangabasi Press (Calcutta, 1334 B. S.), Basumati Press (Calcutta, 1929).

5 Published by Rasikmohan Chatterji in his *Vividhatantra-saṃgraha* (Calcutta, 1881-86).

6 Editions by P. C. Pal and Bros. (Calcutta, 1948 V. S.), J. Vidyasagar (Calcutta, 1896) and by Prasannakumar Shastri (Calcutta, 1313 B. S.).

in the Netrakona Subdivision of the District of Mymensingh in East Bengal. He became the *guru* of a good many people of East and North Bengal, which position his descendants still hold.

Pūrṇānanda compiled several Tantra works. Of these the *Śyāmā-rahasya*[7] deals with various rites in connection with the worship of the goddess Śyāmā or Kālī, and consists of sixteen chapters. His *Śākta-krama* (L. VI. 2067) deals, in seven chapters, with the rites of the Śāktas. His *Śrītattva-cintāmaṇi*[8] describes Tantra rites in general, with special reference to the cult of Śrīvidyā. It begins with a discourse on *tattvajñāna* (the highest Truth), and has a section on *prāyaścitta* or expiatory rites towards the end. His other Tantra works are *Tattvā-nanda-taraṅgiṇī* (RASB, VIII. 6200) and *Ṣaṭkarmollāsa* (HPS, IV. 308). The former pertains to usual tantra topics like *bijoddhāra*, *mantroddhāra* etc. while the latter deals principally with the six magic rites of the Tantras with sections on *āsana* (postures) and *kuṇḍa* (receptacles for sacrificial fire).

We may next mention the name of one who is generally known as Śaṅkara of Gauḍa. His full name seems to have been Śaṅkara Āgamācārya, as is indicated by the colophon of the *Tārārahasya-vṛttikā* in the MS. of the India Office Library (IO., IV. 2603). He flourished some time about the sixteenth century. Manuscripts of his *Tārārahasya-vṛttikā*[9] dated Śaka 1526 (A.D. 1604) and La. Saṁ. 511 (A.D. 1630) are known. A work of the same name referred to in the *Tārābhaktisuddhārṇava* (p. 141) of Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura may be

7 Editions by P. C. Pal & Bros (Calcutta, 1948 V. S.). J. Vidyasagar (1896).

8 Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 19. The source of a number of verses of this work (III. 30-32) quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* (III. 28) is mentioned as *Siddhāntaśekhara*. It is very curious that a good many verses of this work are found in the *Śāradātilaka* as follows:

Śrītattva°	*Śāradā°*
II. 2	IV. 2
IV. 48—49a	III. 36b—37
IV. 52—54	III. 38—40
IV. 58—62	III. 41—45

The sixth chapter of the work, apparently considered as a separate treatise and published as No. 2 of the Tantrik Texts Series, seems to have, as it appears from one commentary, a close connection, if not thorough agreement with a part of the *Kaivalyakālikātantra* (RASB., VIII. 6368). According to some mss. it is a commentary on the *Virupākṣapañcāśikā* of Virupākṣanātha (Hultzsch—*Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India*, No. 1. Madras, 1895, p. 23),

9 Savita Memorial Series, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, East Pakistan, 1961. The work appears to have enjoyed some popularity as indicated by the number of available MSS (RASB, VIII. 6320-1, Introduction, p. XLI).

identical with the present work. The concluding verse of the work says that Śaṅkara was the son of Kamalākara and grandson of Lambodara. In the colophon in some mss. he is definitely called a native of Gauḍa (Bengal). The work describes in fifteen sections Tantra rites like *dīkṣā*, *puraścaraṇa* etc. with special reference to the worship of Tārā. There is scarcely any sufficient ground to suppose that a number of other works (L., VI. 2379, HPS, I. 262, L., I. 428, RASB, VII. 5679, VIII. 6365) also had this Śaṅkara as their author.

Kṛṣṇamohana of unknown date, a Kāyastha of Pūrvasthalī (in West Bengal), is stated to have been the author of eighteen works (ASB., VII. 5509) of which some are mentioned in the *Nītiśataka* (ASB., VII. 5308) and the *Kamalodaya* (VSP., Intro., p. xxxvi). He appears to have been a man of wealth who engaged learned men to write books for him. It is definitely recorded that he got the *Āgamacandrikā*, a tantra digest, compiled by renowned learned men (RASB., VIII. 6209). The work describes rules of initiation and details of the worship of deities of the Mahāvidyā group popular in Bengal.

We know of two works of Candraśekhara. But there is no evidence to show that they originated from the same person. Of these the *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* (HPS., II. 127) deals with the rite called *puraścaraṇa* relating to various mantras. It was composed in 1512 probably of the Śaka era (=1590 A.D.). The other work *Kulapūjanacandrikā* (HPS., II. 37) describes the process of worship performed by the followers of the Kula mode.

Towards the end of the 17th century Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa of Napāḍā in Andul, near Calcutta, known as Southern Nabadwip, composed in 1609 Ś.E (=1687 A.D.) his *Āgamatattva-vilāsa* which was abridged by the author's son Rāmakṛṣna with the title *Āgamacandrikā* (RASB., VIII, 6214). The original work in five chapters deals with various rites connected with Tantric worship in general and mantras of different deities. At the beginning the author gives a long list of works numbering 160 which he consulted. Of works of the digest type referred to by him mention may he made of the *Tantrasāra*, *Tārārahasya* and *Śyāmārahasya*.

Rāmagopāla Śarman composed in 1626 Ś.E. the *Tāntradīpanī* in 11 Chapters (HPS., II. 79). He was a pupil of Kāśīnāthānandanātha who is called Paramanirañjana. Kāśīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra wrote in 1699 Ś.E. the *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi* in seven chapters (RASB., VIII. 6303). The *Tattvaprakāśa* of Jñānananda Brahmacārīn was written in 12 chapters in 1730 Ś.E. (HPS., I. 137). Rādhāmohana, a landlord of Candrapratāpa in the district of Dacca, composed the *Tīkṣṇākalpa* in 1732 Ś.E. (HPS.,

II. 90). A very big but little-known work is the *Pañcama-vedasāra-nirṇaya* of Haragovindarāya, a landlord of Sylhet, who wrote it between 1741 and 1745 Ś.E. describing in detail tantra practices including initiation, Kaula rites and Yoga.[10] The *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, a similar work compiled by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra in 1743 Ś.E. at the instance of Prāṇakṛṣṇa Viśvāsa, a rich land-holder of Khaḍdaha near Calcutta, has been printed several times[11] and is more or less familiar among followers of the tantras. Another tantra work associated with the name of Prāṇakṛṣṇa but dealing with Vaiṣṇava rituals is the *Prāṇakṛṣṇa Vaiṣṇavāmṛta* written by Bholānātha Brahmacārīn in 1748 Ś.E. Another member of an aristocratic family, Harakumāra Ṭhākura of the Tagore family of Calcutta, compiled at about this time several works pertaining to different aspects of tantra worship, viz., *Haratattvadīdhiti* and *Puraścaraṇabodhinī*[12].

From Mahārāṣṭra hailed Nīlakaṇṭha the Śaiva, who is different from his more famous name-sake whose fame rests on his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.[13] He was the author of a number of Purāṇa and Tantra works, not so well-known. He has given but meagre information about himself in his works. We are told that he was born in a family of Śaivas. Mayūreśvara of this family, the great grandfather of our author, earned for the family the surname Śaiva. The son of Mayūreśvara was Nīlakaṇṭha whose son, the father of our author, was Raṅganātha, a poet. Raṅganātha had his son Nīlakaṇṭha by his wife Lakṣmī. Both the parents are referred to by name in the colophons as well as in the introductory and concluding verses of his works. He also refers to his preceptors Kāśīnātha and Śrīdhara, as well as to one Ratnaji at whose instance he is stated to have composed his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*. His place of origin is indicated by his reference to a number of Marathi words in this commentary (VIII. 24. 25-7).

Nīlakaṇṭha does not mention his date but an approximate idea may be formed of his time on the basis of the references he makes to authors and works. He mentions in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*, among others, to the *Mantramahodadhi* (of Mahīdhara, composed in 1589 A.D.), the *Guptavatī* (of Bhāskararāya, composed in 1741 A.D.) and to Nāgojibhaṭṭa (17th-18th century). It would therefore appear

10 For a detailed description cf. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 59, pp. 68-72.

11 First printed in 1823. See *Friend of India*, Vol. 3, pp. 611-13.

12 Published respectively by the author's sons Saurindra Mohan Tagore (Calcutta, 1881) and Jatindramohan Tagore (Calcutta, 1895).

13 He is also different from Nīlakaṇṭha, author of the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, though this Nīlakaṇṭha is also called a Śaiva. For a detailed account of Nīlakaṇṭha and his works Cf. IHQ, Vol. XVI, pp. 356-61.

that Nīlakaṇṭha flourished at a time not earlier than the middle of the 18th century.

About a dozen works of Nīlakaṇṭha are known, or have been mentioned. Of these, the commentaries on the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and the *Kātyāyanītantra* and his *Śaktitattva-vimarśinī* and *Kāmakalā-rahasya* are related to the Tantras.

The special value of the commentary on the *Devībhāgavata* lies in the fact that incidentally it seeks to elucidate the real nature and the supreme importance of the worship of the Divine Mother who is sought to be identified with the Brahman.[14] We have here an interesting discussion regarding the propriety of sacrificing animals in connection with the worship of Śakti. It is stated that Śakti is the presiding deity of Brahma-vidyā which aims at an annihilation of this mundane existence ; so it is that Śakti prefers the sacrifice of animals.[15] Nīlakaṇṭha gives an ingenous explanation of the inconsistencies in the cosmogonical accounts as given in various systems of philosophy. It is pointed out that the world is but an illusion for which there is scant regard of spiritual aspirants and hence the description of the process of creation is nothing but an eye-

14 देवी सर्ववेदान्ततात्पर्यभूमिः—*Devībhāgavataṭīkā*, III. 9. 33.

देव्या मायाविशिष्टब्रह्मरूपत्वात् क्वचिन्मायोपसर्जनब्रह्मरूपत्वेन वर्णनं क्वचिद्ब्रह्मोपसर्जनमायारूपत्वेन वर्णनम् ।—*Op. cit.*, III. 18. 37-42.

सर्वथापि ब्रह्मोपासना शक्तिसहितब्रह्मण एव यथा तथा शक्त्युपासनापि ब्रह्मविशिष्टशक्तेरेव । —*Op. cit.*, IV. 19. 7.

Elsewhere Nīlakaṇṭha thus elucidates his views on the point :

केचिद् भ्रान्ता वदन्ति मायारूपाया भगवत्या उपासना शास्त्रेषूक्ता । तथा च मायाया मिथ्यात्वान्मुक्तौ तस्या अनन्वयाच्चाच्छ्रद्धेयेयमुपासनेति·········श्रुतिभिस्तथा स्मृतिभिश्च ब्रह्मरूपिण्या भगवत्या एवोपासनाकथनात् ।······किमर्थं मायादिशब्दैर्व्यवहारो भगवत्याः शास्त्रेषु क्रियते लक्षणादिदोषाभावाय स्पष्टप्रतिपत्तये ब्रह्मादिशब्दैरेव कुतो न व्यवहारः क्रियते इति तेच्छृणु । चतूर्व्यूहात्मकं हि ब्रह्मणो रूपं विराड्‌हिरण्यगर्भाव्याकृतब्रह्मरूपम् । तत्र देव्युपासना व्यूहान्तर्गतस्य कस्य पदार्थस्येति शङ्कायां विराड्‌हिरण्यगर्भाव्याकृतानां तदधिष्ठातॄणां ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राणां च मैत्रायणीयश्रुतौ एकैकगुणमयत्वकीर्तनात् गुणत्रयसाम्यावस्थाया मायायाः प्रकृत्यादिशब्दवाच्यत्वेन तदेव मायाविशिष्टं तुरीयं ब्रह्मैव भगवत्युपासनायां ग्राह्यमितिबृहदर्थप्रकाशनार्थं तथा मायादिशब्दैर्व्यवहारस्य करणात् ।
—Introductory portion of the *Saptaśatyaṅgaṣaṭkavyākhyāna*.

15 यतः कारणाद्देवी ब्रह्मविद्याधिष्ठात्री भवति ब्रह्मविद्यायाश्च स्वभावो जीवदशा नाशयितव्येति तस्माद्देव्याः प्रियो बलिर्भवति ।—*Op. cit.* III. 26. 33.

wash meant for the satisfaction of the ignorant mass.[16] The views expressed in the work may not unlikely have been based on one or other of the different systems of Tantra philosophy of which Nīlakaṇṭha refers to five belonging to five principal schools of Tantra[17] According to the Śākta system the world is stated to consist of nine or ten categories.[18]

Keśava Viśvarūpa who also originally belonged to Mahārāṣṭra and was born in a Mahārāṣṭra family was a resident of Southern India when he wrote in the year 4933 of the Kali Era a work called the *Āgamatattvasaṃgraha* a mere fragment of which is available (RASB., VIII, 6215). He has referred to his *guru* Kṣemānandanātha and his *paramaguru* Mādhavānandanātha[19] who were respectively authors of the *Saubhāgya-kalpalatikā* (RASB., VIII, 6339) and the *Saubhāgya-kalpadruma* (RASB., VIII. 6338) both concerned with the details of the worship of Tripurā.

✓ Lakṣmīdhara of the court of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa (1497-1539) was a scholar and writer of distinction. He came of a family of learned men.[20] One of his ancestors Mahādevācārya, seventh from him, adorned the courts of kings of Vijayanagar and of king Vema Reḍḍi of Kanḍaviḍu (14th century).[21] He was versed in tantra lore and an adept in tantric practices. Lakṣmīdhara was a worthy descendant of an unbroken line of votaries of Muse. He was author of a large number of books on different branches of Sanskrit literature. His commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*,[22] a hymn to the Divine Mother, attributed to Saṅkarācārya, contains much valuable information

16 अतीन्द्रियसृष्टिविषये च शैवसांख्यवेदान्तिनां परस्परं बहुविरोधो दृश्यते तथापि सृष्टेर्मायिकत्वेन मिथ्यात्वात्तत्रादराभावेन यथाकथञ्चिदिन्द्रजालवदृश्यमानस्य निरुक्तिर्मूढजनबुद्धिशङ्कानिवारणार्थं काञ्चिदपि प्रक्रियामाश्रित्य कर्तव्या ।—*Op. cit.* III. 7. 38.

17 शैवशाक्तसौरगाणेशवैष्णवनास्तिकमतप्रतिपादकानि षड्दर्शनानि सन्ति—*Op. cit.* IV. 15, 12.

18 तत्र शक्तिदर्शनमते श्रीभुवनेश्वर्या दश तत्त्वानि सन्ति। क्वचिन्नव तत्त्वान्यपि ।……
…तत्त्वशब्देन सर्वप्रपञ्चस्य यत्रान्तर्भावस्तत्तत्त्वमुच्यते ।—*loc. cit.*

19 Another grand-disciple (disciple's disciple) of Mādhava seems to have been the author of a work called the *Saubhāgyānandasandoha*, a commentary on the *Paramānandatantra* on which the work of Mādhava himself was based (Introductory verses to *Saubhāgyakalpalatikā*).

20 A short account of the family and of the literary activities of its members is given at the end of Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*.

21 M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, pp. 466-7. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar for drawing my attention to this work.

22 Published in the Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore, 1896.

on different aspects of the cult of Śakti. His Smṛti digest the *Sarasvati-vilāsa* passes in the name of his patron Pratāparudra.

From South India came Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, who had migrated from his original home to Varanasi, where he and his descendants occupied a position of some distinction. A fair account of the family may be gathered from the comprehensive Tantric digests compiled by the members of the family. It is known from the introductory verses of the *Śivārcana-candrikā* (RASB., VIII. 6231) of Śrīnivāsa that there was a large village to the south of Kāñcī, called Ananta, which was inhabited by pious and learned Brāhmaṇas who had received the village as a grant from a certain king. Here was the ancestral home of a learned family of scholars, of whom Śrīnivāsa was the most prominent. Śrīnivāsa, who was specially versed in the Tantras, went on a festive occasion to Jālandhara (Jullundur), a famous *pīṭha* of Śakti-worship, and was initiated by Sundarācārya or Saccidānanda-nātha, presumably the author of the *Lalitārcana-candrikā* and the *Laghu-candrikā* (RASB., VIII. 6343), which may be an abridgment of the former. His post-initiation name appears to have been Vidyānanda-nātha. As desired by his preceptor, Śrīnivāsa came down to and settled in Varanasi. He was the author of several Tantric compilations, four of which he has mentioned by name at the end of his *Śivārcanacandrikā*. Manupcripts of three of these works are known. The first work, the *Bhairavārcāpārijāta*, of which no manuscript is known to have come down, apparently dealt with the worship of Śiva. The second, the *Saubhāgyaratnākara* (RASB., VIII. 6340-51) or the *Bhavānīkararatna* as it is called in one of the colophons of a manuscript of the work belonging to the Asiatic Society describes in thirty-six chapters the details of the worship of Tripurā. Vidyānandanātha is the name of the author given in the concluding verse found *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each chapter of the work. This is the post-initiation name of Śrīnivāsa as is evident from one of the concluding verses.

The third work of the author is the *Caṇḍīsaparyākramakalpavallī* (RASB., VIII. 6404) which, in five chapters (stavakas), treats of the details of the worship of Caṇḍī. The fourth and the biggest work is the *Śivārcanacandrikā*, a comprehensive work on Tantric rituals, which in 46 chapters deals with Tantra rites in general (initiation, daily worship etc.) as well as with the details of the worship of Gaṇeśa, Śakti, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śiva.

Other works not mentioned in the list given in the *Śivārcana-candrikā* also seem to have been compiled by Śrīnivāsa and the

manuscript of one such work (*e.g.*, the *Saubhāgyasubhagodaya*) is deposited in the library of the Maharaja of Ulwar (No. 2445).

The dignity of the family was maintained, if not enhanced, by the successors of Śrīnivāsa. His son, Jagannivāsa, who was also versed in the Tantra lore, counted among his disciples a number of ruling chiefs of the time, of whom Devīsiṁha of Bundel has been mentioned by Śivānanda Gosvāmin, the eldest son of Jagannivāsa, who wrote the *Siṁhasiddhāntasindhu* (RASB, VIII, 6193) at the request of the above-mentioned chief. Janārdana, another son of Jagannivāsa, probably the youngest, was the author of the *Mantra-candrikā* (RASB., VIII. 6232). Like the *Śivārcanacandrikā* of the author's grand-father, on which it was based, it deals, though not so elaborately, with the details of the worship of the five principal deities of the present-day Hindus.[23]

Bhāskararāya or Bhāskararāja or Bhāsurānandanātha, son of Gambhīrarāja Bhāratī Dīkṣita and Konamāmbā, disciple of Nṛsiṃha and Śivadatta Śukla who performed his *pūrṇābhiṣeka* or supreme form of Tantric initiation is a great name in the field of Tantra literature. His original home was in Southern India wherefrom his father seems to have migrated to Varanasi where Bhāskara composed scme of his works. He was a big scholar whose contributions were many-sided. Of his works dealing with tantra topics the outstanding ones are commentaries on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* section of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*[24], *Lalitā-sahasranāma* section of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[25] and the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*[26] and an independent treatise, the *Varivasyārahasya*[27] which seeks to elucidate different aspects of Tantric worship of the Śakti. He had his own commentary on the last work. His works on metrics, no less than four in number, also deserve special mention.[28] He flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

23 For a detailed account of the works of Śrīnivāsa and his descendants Cf. IHQ. Vol. XV., pp. 131-36.

24 Commentary called *Setubandha* published in the Anandasram Sanskrit Series, Poona.

25 Commentary called *Saubhāgyabhāskara* published by the Nirnaysagar Press, Bombay, Fourth edition, 1935.

26 Commentary called *Guptavatī* published by the Venkateswar Steam Press, Bombay, 1916.

27 Edited with an English translation by S. Subrahmanya Sastri in the Adyar Library Series, Madras, 1941, 1948.

28 Bhāskara's contributions to metrics are being studied by S. P. Bhattacharya who made a communication on the subject at the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society in April 1962. For an account of the author and his works see G. V. Devasthali's Introduction to Bhāskara's *Madhurāmlakāvya* in the Oriental Thought Series, Nasik, No. 2.

He had a number of distinguished disciples of whom Nityānandanātha's *Nityotsava* (GOS) is an important work.

Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa, alias Śivānandanātha of Varanasi, was the author of a large number of small treatises, principally on Paurāṇic and Tāntric topics. He flourished some time in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. He was a worshipper of Śiva and Śakti and followed what is called *dakṣiṇācāra* or the 'Rightist' form of worship of the usual and orthodox type, which he claimed to have established on a firm footing, at a time when *vāmācāra* or the 'Leftist' form of worship, with its apparently revolting practices, was fast becoming the order of the day. He took pains in his works to refute the doctrines of *vāmācāra*, and establish the rites and practices of *dakṣiṇācāra*.

He was the author of about sixty works which generally pertain to different aspects of Tantras[29] and Purāṇas, while there are a number of exegetical and polemic treatises.[30] A good number of his works pertain to rituals connected with the worship of one or other various deities.[31] It might be noted here that several works of Kāśīnātha appear to have gained some amount of popularity, so that manuscripts of them are found in different parts of India with more than one version of some of the works (e.g., *Mantracandrikā*, *Śivādvaitaprakāśikā*). One of his works, the *Durjanamukhacapeṭikā*, was translated into French by Burnouf.[32] The views expressed in another, the *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana*, were sought to be refuted by Brahmānanda who hailed from the bank of the Govāvarī.[33]

A passing reference may be made here to Mahīdhara who settled at Varanasi leaving his homeland in Ahicchatra (mod. Ramnagar in the Punjab). His *Mantramahodadhi*,[34] a very popular work, giving mantras of various deities, was composed in 1589.

29 Agamotpattyādivaidikātāntrikanirṇaya, Vaidikatāntrikādhikārinirṇaya, Āmnāyaprakāśa, Mantracandrikā, Mantrasiddhāntamañjarī, Mantrasārasamuccaya.

30 Commentaries on the *Jñānārṇavatantra, Dakṣiṇācāratantrarāja, Śāradātilaka, Mantramahodadhi, Yoginīhṛdaya*; Tantrabhūṣā, Tantrasiddhāntakaumudī, Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana, Kaulagajamardana, Dakṣiṇācāradīpikā, Kāpālikamatavyavasthā.

31 Śāmbhavācārakaumudī, Śivapūjātaraṅgiṇī, Rāmapūjā°, Kṛṣṇapūjā°, Gaṇeśapūjādīpikā, Śrīvidyāmantra°, Caṇḍikārcana°, Gāyatryarcana°, Kālīpūjārasāyana, Tārāpūjā°, Gaṅgābhakti°.

32 *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Preface, p. LXXXV.

33 *Vāmācārasiddhantasaṃgraha* (Madras, XII. 5720). For a detailed account of Kāśīnātha and his works Cf. JRASB, Vol. IV., 1939, pp. 455-465.

34 Published by R. Chatterji in his *Vividhārthasaṃgraha*, by J. Vidyasagar (Calcutta, 1892) and by the Venkateswar Steam Press (Bombay, 1910). About Mahīdhara and his works Cf. ABORI., Vol. XXI., pp. 248-61.

Quite a number of princely authors or patrons who were actively connected with a number of Tantra works are known in different parts of the country. Jaitra Siṁha of the Vāghela dynasty was the author of the *Bhairavārcāpārijāta* (RASB., VIII. 6468). Śivānanda Gosvāmin as has already been mentioned wrote the voluminous and comprehensive digest the *Siṃha-Siddhāntasindhu* (RASB., VIII. 6193) at the request of his father's disciple Devīsiṃha of the Bundel family. The *Vidyārnava* (RASB., VIII, 6206) which deals with the details of the worship of various forms of the Divine Mother was composed at the request of Ambadeva,[35] posthumous son of king Prauḍhadeva of Vijayanagar. The introductory portion of the work incidentally gives an interesting, though it may not be historical, story[36] of the building of the beautiful town of Vidyānagara (Vijayanagar) in imitation of the mystic Śrīcakra by the author of the present work when he acted as a regent in pursuance of the wishes of the people on the death of king Prauḍhadeva who died leaving the queen with child.

Maharaj Visvanath Singh of Rewah who succeeded his father Jai Singh in 1833 and ruled up to 1854, is stated to have been a good scholar and a great patron of Sanskrit learning.[37] He appears to have been the author of as many as half a dozen works all on the cult of Rāma.[38] Of these two, one directly and another indirectly, are connected with the Tantras. The *Mantrārthanirṇaya* (RASB., VIII, 6494) seeks to demonstrate the supremacy of the worship and *mantra* of Rāma and gives an esoteric meaning of the latter. The commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* called the *Rādhāvallabhīya-mataprakāśabhāṣya* is stated to have been composed for the exposition of the true nature of Rāmacandra, identified with the Supreme Being, who can be known and spiritually realized only through devotion, or rather through the worship of Rādhā who constitutes a typical personification of this devotion. It draws attention to the philosophical outlook of the Rādhāvallabhī sect and the mystic significance of the rites and practices observed by its followers. It is stated to have been composed in 1840 A.D.

Premanidhi Pantha who had made considerable contributions to the literature of the Tantras hailed from Kūrmācala or Kumaon, was the

35 The name is mentioned by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj (*Brahmasūtra*, Acyutagranthamala, Benares, Introduction, p. 54).

36 *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI., pp. 107-9, 244-5.

37 Captain Luard, *Rewah State Gazetteer*, Volume IV, Lucknow, 1907, p. 69.

38 For an account of these works Cf. JRASB., Vol. V., 1939. pp. 455-58.

son of Umāpati and Udyotamati and was a worshipper of Kārtavīrya. Little is known about his life and family. We are told that he had sorrowful bereavements in his family. He lost his beloved wife at a comparatively young age. It seems he thereupon left his ancestral home and came to be settled at Varanasi where on the completion of his commentary on the *Śivatāṇḍava*, he was given considerable property and a house by his patron and disciple Malaivammadeva, a chieftain of Nepal. Reference is made to two daughters of his, Mahālakṣmī and Kanakā. This much of his personal history may be gathered from his *Mallādarśa*, commentary on the *Śivatāṇḍava*, in which he incidentally describes his patron and makes references to himself.

It appears from the introductory verses of the *Sudaraśanā*[39] (commentary on the *Tantrarājatantra*) that he had a third wife, Prāṇamañjarī by name, who composed the commentary in memory of her son called Sudarśana. The name of the father and the mother of this wife are given as Harṣadeva and Harṣamati.

The time when he flourished is roughly indicated by the references to dates of composition given in some of his works. We are told that he composed the *Mallādarśa* and the *Dīpaprakāśa* in 1648 Ś.E. *Pṛthvīpremodaya* and the commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* in 1659 Ś.E., the *Jagatpremodaya* in 1663 Ś E., the *Prāyascittapradīpa* in 1675 Ś.E. This would point to the second quarter of the eighteenth century together with a portion of the third as the period of his literary activities.

Premanidhi was the author of about a dozen works on Tantra and Smṛti. He mentions six works of him at the end of his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*, and three at the end of the *Śabdaprakāśa*, while the *Mallādarśa* incidentally refers to the *Bhaktitaraṅgiṇī*. In the descriptive catalogues and the lists of his works based on them as given by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* and Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. I) different portions of the same work appear to have in some cases been indicated as separate works. The same work has also sometimes been referred to under different titles. Two of his tantric works, the *Prayogaratnākara* and the *Dīpaprakāśa*, deal with the little-known cult of Kārtavīrya. Four others are exegetical works possessing little

39 *Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā*, N.S., Vol. VI (1982 V.S.,) p. 376 f.n. The commentary is also attributed to Premanidhi (Cat. Cat. I. :222, II. 46). A portion of the commentary is preserved in a fragmentary manuscript described in RASB. VIII. 6819. An edition of its first chapter on the basis of one imperfect manuscript belonging to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta, 1940).

importance save that the *Mallādarśa* contains a unique panegyric in eighty four verses of the patron of the author. The description of each *Yantra* in the commentary of the *Yantra* section is concluded by a verse describing the patron or one of his ancestors, children or relatives who are introduced as having obtained success through the worship of the *Yantra* under description. The panegyric may be of some historical value.[40]

Of Nepal, we may mention Navamīsiṁha alias Ādyānandana. He introduces himself in the beginning of his *Tantra-cintāmaṇi* as the minister of King Bhūpālendra, who is stated to have been a man of learning and piety. The king seems to be identical with Mahīndra Malla or Bhūpālendra Malla of Kathmandu who ruled for about five years (A. D. 1689-94).[41] We know of two extensive Tantric digests by Navamīsiṁha, the *Tantra-cintāmaṇi* (RASB., VIII. 6217-8) and the *Kulamukti-kallolinī* (RASB., VIII. 6308). He wrote the *Puṣparatnākara-tantra* (HPS., Nep., II. p. 222) under Bhāskarendra or Bhāskaramalla who succeeded Bhūpalendra and reigned for eight years. The work in eight chapters speaks of flowers meant for and favourite to different deities. Reference should be made to another comprehensive work the *Puraścaryārṇava* compiled by Pratāpa Siṃha Shah of the Gorkhali dynasty in 1831 V. S. (1774 A.D.), apparently the very year of his accession to the throne. The work in 12 sections deals with the details of the worship of various deities with special reference to the rite *Puraścaraṇa*.[42]

Among a host of Tantric saints and authors of Kashmir, the most renowned name, is that of the polymath Abhinavagupta (tenth or eleventh century). His *magnum opus*, and the most voluminous of his works, is the *Tantrāloka*, which is 'primarily concerned with the systematic presentation of the teachings of the Kula and Trika systems'. He was a great *sādhaka* as well as a vastly learned scholar. It is from the Kula system that he seems to have attained perfect satisfaction and peace. Presumably, it is on account of this that he paid a more glowing tribute to his Kaulika teacher, Śambhunātha, than to anyone else. He had to go to Jullundhur to learn Kaulika literature and practices from this teacher[43].

40 For the text of the panegyric and an account of the author and his works Cf JRASB., Vol. VI, 1940, pp. 105-17.

41 Wright, *History of Nepal*, London, 1877, p. 221.

42 Edited in three parts by Pandit Muralidhar Jha, Benares, 1901-4.

43 For a detailed account of Abhinavagupta and his works, see K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta—An Historical and Philosophical Study* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Studies, Vol. I, Benares City, 1935).

A number of Tantric works pertaining to the Śakti cult are known to have been attributed to Sāhib Kaula, which seems to have been a Tantric ecclesiastical designation in Kashmir. A person occupying the position in the 17th century was the author of the *Devīnāmavilāsa*[44] composed in 1723 V. S. It explains the significance of the 1000 names of the Divine Mother occurring in the *Bhavanisahasranāmastotra.* Every chapter of the work ends with a verse colophon which occasionally refers to other works of the author. A manuscript of a second work, the *Kalpavṛkṣa,* composed in 1733 V.S, was reported to be in the possession of Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, late Superintendent of Archaeology, Kashmir, who claimed to be a descendant of this illustrious personage. Of other works attributed to Sāhib Kaula who may or may not be identical with the author of the books just mentioned the *Śrīvidyānitya-pūjāpaddhati* (RASB., VIII. 6354) is a big ritualistic work dealing with the details of the workship of Tripurā and the *Śārikāstava* (RASB., VIII. p, 568) is a hymn to the goddess Śārikā. Sāhib Kaula in whose honour as a guru hymns were composed by Jyotiṣprakāśa[45] and Cidrūpa (RASB., VIII, p. 868-70) might have flourished in the 19th century. The designation of the author, far more than the works, which possess few marked characteristics, appears in the present case to be immensely interesting. The functions attaching to the position and its real nature are not known. But the boastful manner in which references[46] to it are made is sufficient indication of its high dignity.

44 Published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 63.

45 The hymn of Jyotiṣprakāśa was commented on by his disciple Govinda Kaula in 1830 Ś.E. or 1908 A.D.

46 Compare in this connection the chapter colophons and date verse of the *Devīnāmavilāsa* and the concluding verses of the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati.*

CHAPTER X

TANTRIC FORM OF WORSHIP AND TANTRIC DEITIES

The Tantric form of worship is distinguished from the Purānic and Smārta forms though all these forms have not unoften been hopelessly intermixed making it difficult to separate the one from the other, the Tantra form dominating the other forms. The one is more complicated and harder to perform than the others. A brief reference has already (pp. 3-6 above) been made to the main characteristics of this form of worship. A detailed description and elucidation of the different parts is neither possible nor advisable for various reasons. But attention may be drawn here to a few points. Stress is laid on the attempt at realisation of the identity of the worshipper and the worshipped, the individual soul and the supreme soul at various stages of the worship. *Bhūtaśuddhi* which aims at purifying the body of the worshipper involves a yogic process beginning with a meditation of this identity. The *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* ceremony for infusing life into the image of the deity is preceded by a similar ceremony (*ātmaprāṇapratiṣṭhā*) meant for the worshipper himself whereby he is enlivened as the deity. In offering worship to the deity he is to conceive himself as well as the articles of worship as identical with the deity. The same conception is to follow the *Visarjana* or letting off of the deity on completion of the worship.[1] The identity of the sacrificial fire, the deity and the self is to be contemplated at the time of performing *homa* in the tantric way. Another important rite is *Nyāsa* or imaginary placing of different objects (letters of the alphabet, sages, deities etc) on different parts of the body with which they are believed to be identified.[2]

This spirit of identification seems to have been responsible for the deification of the preceptor and the woman. Daily worship is to be offered to the preceptor as to the deity, directly and solely to him if he is present or in his name in his absence.

1 It is this conception that led to the rule of assuming the form of the deity on the occasion of worshipping it. There is also the obligatory mental worship (*mānasa pūjā*) as an essential prelude in which immaterial objects like the mind, non-avarice, charity, the sky, light, wind etc. are to be offered to the deity before worldly things.

2 न्यासस्तन्मयताबुद्धिः

In the Tantras and Purāṇas women are regarded as forms of the Mother Goddess.[3] Provision is made for the regular worship of an ordinary woman as the Mother Goddess irrespective of any caste distinction. In the Tantric rite called the *dūtīyāga* such worship is offered even in the midst of hidden ritualistic orgies. The worship of the maiden (*Kumārīpūjā*) is, however, quite sober. Maidens of all castes not exceeding sixteen years in age may be worshipped without making any distinction of caste. A maiden, it is stated, is the embodiment of all deities. The worship of the maiden drives away all evil and secures good for the worshipper. All gods are pleased with this worship. As a matter of fact, the worship of the deity is not fruitful if it is not accompanied by the worship of the maiden which secures immense benefit for the former. One who feeds a maiden gains the merit of feeding the three worlds. It is in this way that different Tantras speak highly of the worship of the maiden[4] who like the more famous deities has special Stotras, Kavacas and Sahasranāmas eulogizing her and identifying her with other deities.

Of the distinctive features of the Tantra form of worship as distinguished from the Purāṇa form the mantras of the former attract special notice. They are formed by apparently unmeaning monosyllabic sounds which occupy a prominent place in it. The types of expressions in offering materials to the deity are slightly different in the two forms. In the tantra form the mantra comes first, then the name of the material offered and then the name of the deity.[5] In the Purāṇa form the order

3 स्त्रियो देवाः स्त्रियः प्राणाः स्त्रियश्चैव विभूषणम् ।
... ...
स्त्रीद्वेषो नैव कर्तव्यो विशेषात् पूजनं महत् ।
... ...
स्त्रीमयश्च जगत् सर्वं तथात्मानं च भावयेत् ॥ *Tantrasāra* (*Kulācāra* Section).

विद्याः समस्तास्तव देवि भेदाः
स्त्रियः समस्ताः सकला जगत्सु ॥ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Devīmāhātmya* (XI. 6)

Extracts from a number of the Purāṇas are quoted in the *Saubhāgyabhāskara* under the name Rāmā in verse 123.

4 देवीबुद्धया महाभक्तस्तस्मात्तां परिपूजयेत् ।
सर्वविद्यास्वरूपा हि कुमारी नात्र संशयः ॥
तस्मात्तां पूजयेद् बालां सर्वजातिसमुद्भवाम् ।
जातिभेदो न कर्तव्यः कुमारीपूजने शिवे ॥ *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* under *Kumārīpūjā*.
Also cf. *Tantrasāra*.

5 आदौ मन्त्रस्ततो द्रव्यं तदन्ते सम्प्रदानकम् ।

is somewhat different the name of the material preceding the mantra.[6] In the tantra form again different dative particles (*namaḥ, svāhā, svadhā, vauṣaṭ, nivedayāmi* etc.) are used in connection with different materials whereas the Purāṇa form uniformly uses *namaḥ*. As regards the various component parts common to both (like *ācamana, svastīvācana, ghaṭasthāpana* etc.) they have very little agreement.

The number of deities the worship of which is dealt with in the tantras is a legion a section of which is known from the Vedas and Purāṇas and worshipped according to the Purāṇa form of worship as well. The same deity is occasionally worshipped under different names and forms especially in connection with different rituals and *mantras*. Images of many of the deities are never made or known. The descriptions, however, are interesting and may be helpful in correctly identifying some of the little-known icons. The deities may be grouped under several classes with a number of sub-classes. An attempt is made in the following pages to give an account of the tantric deities on the basis of the *Prapañcasāra*, the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Tantrasāra* the last two of which have greater agreement especially regarding the descriptions of the deities. The *Prapañcasāra* regarded as an authority has the descriptions worded differently. All the three works have some differences in the arrangement and enumeration of the deities. Different varieties of Gaṇapati are absent in the first work which has separate sections on Candra and Manmatha not found in the other two, the second work incidentally dealing with Candra but omitting Manmatha altogether. Many of the Śakti deities of the third, particularly the immensely popular Kālī and Tārā, are not found in the other two.

The deities of the Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati class are Gaṇapati proper, Mahāgaṇapati, Virigaṇapati, Śaktigaṇapati, Vidyāgaṇapati, Haridrāgaṇeśa, Ucchiṣṭagaṇeśa, Lakṣmīvināyaka, Heramba, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Mahodara, Gajānana, Lambodara, Vikaṭa and Vighnarāja.[7] The six black magical rites are associated with the worship of some of these deities.[8] A number[9] of them are described as accompanied by their consorts in erotic positions. Contrary to the usual mouse we have the lion as the carrier of Heramba. Mahāgaṇapati pleases

6 आदौ द्रव्यं ततो मन्त्रस्तदन्ते सम्प्रदानकम् ।

7 For various types of Gaṇeśa see *Merutantra*, Prakāśas 16-20.

8 Compare *Mārjārītantra*, *Kumārasaṃhitā* and *Vināyakasaṃhitā* (RASB., VIII., 5897, 6056, 6088).

9 Mahāgaṇapati, Virigaṇapati and Śaktigaṇapati.

his votaries with showers of jewels from a jewel-pitcher held by his hand. Viriganapati carries a skull full of wine. We have no reference here to Mahādeva and Pārvatī, mythological parents of the deity. Rules for the worship of his brother Kārtikeya are however laid down. This deity holds a cock in one of his hands.

No variety of the Sun-god is mentioned. The Moon, the Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava and the Fire are associated with him. The Moon has blue locks of hair. Mārtaṇḍa has four faces with three eyes in each, eight hands with a skull in one and one half of the body formed by his beloved. Fire has also eight hands and three eyes. The Sun having four hands is seated on a red lotus and has a lotus in one of his hands. The god is sometimes worshipped in the Kaula form.[10]

The Śaiva class of deities includes Śiva with his different forms, Kṣetrapāla and the Bhairavas[11] whose number is usually given as eight. Of the forms of Śiva the one worshipped with the mantra of five or six syllables[12] is the most popular. Here the deity is like a silver mountain. He is adorned with the beautiful moon. His limbs are brightened with jewel ornaments. He has the axe, the deer, *vara* (blessing) and *abhaya* (assurance) in his hands. Seated on a lotus he is eulogized by the gods on all sides. He is the primeval being, the seed of the universe, the remover of all fears, five-faced and three-eyed. Kṣetrapāla is better known as a folk-deity for whose propitiation women keep vows in different parts of Bengal.[13] The need of offering worship to the deity at the beginning of all rites is emphasised in the *Kulārṇavatantra* (VII. 32). As regards special offerings to be made

10 RASB., VIII. 5888.

11 The name owes its origin to the dreadful character of the deity (भीषणत्वाच्च भैरवः—*Merutantra*, 32. 13). Śiva himself is also called Bhairava as he is the author of creation (*bharaṇa*), protection (*ramaṇa*) and destruction (*vamana*) of the universe (भरणरमणवमनकर्ता सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतिकारी परमशिवो भैरवः—*Saubhāgyabhāskara*, p. 17). There are different lists of names of the eight Bhairavas. According to one they are Asitāṅga, Ruru, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapālī, Bhīṣaṇa and Saṃhāra, while another has Siddhibhairava, Vaṭuka°, Kaṅkāla°, Yoginī°, Mahā°, Śakti°, Māyika° and Kaṅkālāgni° (*Setubandha*, p. 22). There are fifty-one Bhairavas one each attached to the fifty-one sacred places (*pīṭhasthānas*) each associated with a limb of the Divine Mother. For Bhairavas presiding over villages cf. *Merutantra* (32, 150ff).

12 नमः शिवाय । ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

13 IHQ., Vol. IX, pp. 237-43. For the cult of Kālārka-Rudra, another Śaivaite deity, and folk-rites associated with it cf. JASB, Letters, 1935, pp. 429-438.

to the deity different works prescribe different objects. The *Tantrasāra* provides for a piece (of flesh) with condiments while the *Īṣānaśivaguru-devapaddhati* (Pt II, p. 188-9) suggests a preparation of rice. *Māṣa* pulse and grainpowder are sanctioned by the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Ḍākinītantra.* In folk-rites in Eastern Bengal powdered fried rice is the principal object offered to the deity. The deity is differently described in different works like the *Ḍākinītantra* (VSP. MS., fol. 16b, 17a), *Merutantra* (32. 227-8), *Īṣānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Śāktānandataraṅgiṇī* (12.3), *Puraścaryārṇava, Tantrasāra, Kaulāvalinirṇaya* (p. 33 of Avalon's ed.), *Skandapurāṇa Kumārikākhaṇḍa* (62. 18, 25). There appear to be some common Saivaite characteristics in all these various descriptions. The eight bhairavas, Asitāṅga, Ruru etc., as also Mahākāla are worshipped along with the goddess Kālī. Of these Mahākāla[14] is described as dark-coloured, holding a staff and a club, having his waist covered by tiger's skin, adorned with a garland of skulls. He is fierce like the fire, his teeth making his face fearful. He is a child with a fat belly, red cloth, erect hairs. He is three-eyed with a digit of the moon dazzling in his matted hairs. Vaṭukabhairava in known through a hymn (*vaṭukabhairavastotra*) popular in Bengal. The hymn describes the deity as surrounded by dogs, having eight, four and two hands, a girdle of snakes, hairs of the colour of fire. He is like the black cloud, having the hue of black collyrium, a face fearful for the teeth.[15] The *Śāradātilaka* (20. 50-53) has descriptions

14 महाकालं यजेद्देव्या दक्षिणे धूम्रवर्णकम् ।
बिभ्रतं दण्डखट्वाङ्गौ दंष्ट्राभीममुखं शिशुम् ॥
व्याघ्रचर्मावृतकटिं तुन्दिलं रक्तवाससम् ।
त्रिनेत्रमूर्ध्वकेशञ्च मुण्डमालाविभूषितम् ।
जटाभारलसच्चन्द्रखण्डमुग्रं ज्वलन्निभम् ॥

Two-armed and four-armed images of Buddhist Mahākāla bearing close similarity to his Brahmanic counterpart are described by Debala Mitra (IHQ., 34, pp. 1 ff ; 35, pp. 43ff).

15 शुद्धस्फटिकसङ्काशं सहस्रादित्यवर्चसम् ।
अष्टबाहुं त्रिनयनं चतुर्बाहुं द्विबाहुकम् ॥
भुजङ्गमेखलं देवमग्निवर्णशिरोरुहम् ।
दिगम्बरं कुमारीशं वटुकाख्यं महाबलम् ॥
खट्वाङ्गमसिपाशञ्च शूलञ्चैव तथा पुनः ।
डमरुञ्च कपालञ्च वरदं भुजगं तथा ॥

of three forms of the deity none of which agrees with the one referred to above.[16]

Among Vaiṣṇava deities we have different forms of Viṣṇu and his incarnations.[17] Of these Lakṣmī-Vāsudeva, or Lakṣmī-Nārāyana represents a union of Viṣṇu and his consort and Harihara of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Dadhivāmana carries a golden pitcher full of pure water and a golden vessel containing rice mixed with curd. Hayagrīva is horse-faced resting on the knees with two hands which hold a wheel of a chariot and a conch-shell. Gopāla[18] or Kṛṣṇa is variously described as surrounded by cowherds and cowherdesses in Vṛndāvana or in embrace with the beloved or in a gorgeous state in Dwarka in the company of his wives and sweethearts sixteen thousand in number. It is curious that there is no reference in any of these descriptions to Rādhā or to any separate worship of her as of Sītā and Lakṣmī. Along with the worship of Rāma provision is made for the worship of Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanūmat, Rāma's favourite attendant.

The forms of Śakti are numerous. A number of them are classed as the Mahāvidyās or Vidyās and the Nityās. There does not appear to be any reference to this type of classification in the *Śāradātilaka*. The *Tantrasāra* quotes two lists of Mahāvidyās from the *Mālinīvijaya* and the *Muṇḍamāla*, of which the second one[19] giving ten names is very popular in Bengal.

नीलजीमूतसङ्काशं नीलाञ्जनचयप्रभम् ।
दंष्ट्राकरालवदनं नूपुराङ्गदसङ्कुलम् ॥
आत्मवर्णसमोपेतं सारमेयसमन्वितम् ॥

16 For a story of the origin of the deity and its description cf. *Merutantra* (32. 1ff).

17 Descriptions are given in the *Śāradātilaka* (ch. 8, 15-17) and the *Tantrasāra*, It may be noted that of the ten incarnations only four, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are mentioned.

18 Gopāla as a child, known as Bālagopāla, is represented in the *Tantrasāra* in three forms, one seated on a lotus with two hands carrying fresh milk-products, another a restless boy of five moving in the courtyard and the third sitting on the pericarp of a lotus issuing from the root of the heavenly wish-yielding tree (*Kalpadruma*) adorned with various jewels and constantly taking nectar-like milk-products.

19 The list apparently quoted from the *Tantrasāra* is attributed to the *Cāmuṇḍā-tantra* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*. It is also found in the *Tantrakaumudī*. The lists:

काली नीला महादुर्गा त्वरिता छिन्नमस्तका ।
वागवादिनी चान्नपूर्णा तथा प्रत्यङ्गिरा पुनः ॥

The *Tantrakaumudī* a manuscript of which is deposited in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, contains (Fol. 3a) two lists, one giving the number as twenty seven without mentioning any source and the other taken from the *Viśvasāra* being similar to one quoted above.[20] In all the lists we have as the first name Kāli who is considered in Eastern India to be the most important of the Śakti deities. Kāmākhyā may have reference to the famous deity on the Kāmākhyā hills of Assam and Vāsalī (the variant occurring in the *Śabdakalpadruma*) to one of some popularity in Bengal. Others (Nīlā or Nīlasarasvatī or Tārā, Bheruṇḍā, Mahādurgā, Tvaritā, Chhinnamastā, Vāgvādinī, Annapūrṇā, Pratyaṅgirā, Bālā, Mātaṅgī, Śailavāsinī, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Dhūmāvatī, Vagalā, Kamalā, Mahiṣamardīni, Dhanadā, Gaurī, Tripuṭā, Tripurā, Mahāmāyā, Śulinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kātyāyanī) are more or less known. A few of these (Tripurā, Tvaritā and Bheruṇḍā)

कामाख्यावासिनी (वासली ?) बाला मातङ्गी शैलवासिनी ॥
इत्याद्याः सकला विद्याः कलौ पूर्णफलप्रदाः ॥ —*Mālinīvijaya*
काली तारा महाविद्या षोडशी भुवनेश्वरी ।
भैरवी छिन्नमस्ता च विद्या धूमावती तथा ॥
वगला सिद्धविद्या च मातङ्गी कमलात्मिका ।
एता दश महाविद्याः सिद्धविद्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ —*Muṇḍamālā*

20 काली तारा महादुर्गा त्वरिता छिन्नमस्तका ।
वाग्वादिनी चान्नपूर्णा तथा महिषमर्दिनी ॥
कामाख्यावासिनी बाला मातङ्गी चण्डिका तथा ।
इत्याद्याः सकला विद्याः कलौ पूर्णफलप्रदाः ॥ —*Viśvasāra*
काली तारा भैरवी च षोडशी भुवनेश्वरी ।
अन्नपूर्णा महामाया दुर्गा महिषमर्दिनी ॥
त्रिपुरा वगला छिन्ना धूमा च त्वरिता तथा ।
मातङ्गी धनदा गौरी त्रिपुटा परमेश्वरी ॥
प्रत्यङ्गिरा महामाया भेरुण्डा शूलिनी तथा ।
चामुण्डा सर्वदा बाला तथा कात्यायनी शिवा ॥
सप्तविंशतिर्महाविद्याः सर्वशास्त्रेषु गोपिताः ॥

For an account of the 16 *mahāvidyās* of the Jains cf. *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XV, pp. 114 ff.

are also counted among the Nityās who are sixteen in number.[21] Their esoteric significance is sought to be brought out by identifying them with the *tithis* (days of the fortnight), digits of the moon, letters of the alphabet and the attributes of the five elements (Lakṣmīdhara, pp. 86, 91, 95, *Setubandha*, pp. 25-6). The *Tantrarājatantra* as well as nine other Tantras referred to by it (I, 2) and enumerated in its commentary *Manoramā*[22] deal with the worship of these deities. The first of the Nityās, Tripurasundarī, one of the most important and popular of the Śakti deities, and rituals connected with her worship are described in the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*. It is said she was previously worshipped by gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara and so the gods gave her the name Tripurā.[23] Different aspects and forms of this deity are mentioned. She is stated to have primarily three varieties, e.g., Bālā, Bhairavī and Sundarī. The nine Cakreśvarīs seem to respect her nine aspects (*Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava*, I. 64-5, VII. 9-11). And Tripurānyāsa might have reference to fifty forms of the deity. She has numerous votaries spread over different parts of the country. She is represented as full of beauty and hence she is known by names like Tripurasundarī, Rājarājesvarī and Ṣoḍaśī.[24] The deities Kālī, Tārā and Durgā are very popular in Eastern India, especially in Bengal. The cults of Kālī and Durgā will

21 तत्रादौ प्रथमा नित्या महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ।
ततः कामेश्वरी नित्या नित्या च भगमालिनी ॥
नित्यक्लिन्नाभिधा नित्या भेरुण्डा वह्निवासिनी ।
महाविद्येश्वरी दूती त्वरिता कुलसुन्दरी ॥
नित्या नीलपताका च विजया सर्वमङ्गला ।
ज्वालामालिनिका चित्रेत्येवं नित्यास्तु षोडश ॥—*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (I. 27-29).

A closely similar list attributed to the *Jñānārṇava* is quoted in the *Tantrasāra* under *Soḍaśanityānyāsa*.

22 *Sundarīhṛdaya, Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava, Candrajñāna, Mātṛkātantra, Sammohanatantra, Vāmakeśvara, Bahurūpāṣṭaka, Prastāracintāmaṇi* and *Meruprastāra*.

23 ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशाद्यैस्त्रिदशैरर्चिता पुरा ।
त्रिपुरेति सदा नाम कथितं दैवतैस्तव ॥

Vārāhītantra as quoted in the *Tantrasāra* (p. 337, Bangabasi Edition. Absent in Rasikmohan's edition). Also see *Prapañcasāra*, IX, 1-2.

24 विद्यायाः सौन्दर्यस्य निरतिशयत्वात् तस्यां सौन्दर्यातिशायित्वमुक्तम् । अनेन त्रिपुरसुन्दरीति सिद्धान्तः । ……ततः परादेशिकादिभिर्मन्त्रकल्पनेन सैव राजराजेश्वरी षोडशीत्युक्तम् । —*Śrīvidyāratnasūtra*, p. 19.

be described in some details in separate chapters in view of special importance attached to them through periodical festive ceremonies associated with their worship. Tārā has different forms and names, e.g., Tārā, Nīlasarasvatī, Ugratārā, Ekajaṭā, Vidyārājñī, Vāgīśvarī and Sarasvatī. Significances of some of the names are pointed out. She is Nīlasarasvatī as she easily endows one with the power of good speech. She is Tārā as she always frees one from bondage and bestows happiness and emancipation. She is Ugratārā as she relieves one from grave calamity.[25] Deities like Chhinnamastā or Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā, Ucchiṣṭacāṇḍālinī, Dhūmāvatī, Vagalā, Vagalāmukhī or Pītā and Karṇapisācī are usually worshipped with ulterior objects of securing magical powers. They have very few regular worshippers who have them as their tutelary deities. They have fearful appearances. Chhinnamastā holds by her left hand her head severed from her body, the head and two female deities standing by her sides drinking the streams of blood flowing from the headless trunk. She rests on Rati and Kāmadeva engaged in coitus. Ucchiṣṭacāṇḍālinī who is to be worshipped in an impure state with impure objects is seated on a corpse, covered with red cloth and decorated with red ornaments, holding a skull and a small sword in her hands. Dhūmāvatī is a quarrelsome widow, fearful, covered with dirty cloth, oppressed by hunger and thirst, having a protruding nose, few teeth and discoloured hair, holding a winnowing fan, riding on a chariot with a crow on its top. Vagalāmukhī is all yellow with yellow cloth, yellow garland and yellow ornaments ; she holds the enemy by the tongue with her left hand and strikes him with the right carrying a mace. Karṇapiśācī is black in colour, dwarf, pot-bellied, red-tongued, demoniacal, with matted hairs, red eyes, having skulls in two of her four hands. Darkish rays emanate from her body. A passing reference may be made here to a number of little known deities like Śārikā of Kashmir, Kubjikā of Nepal, Indrākṣī and Raṅkinī about whom the available information is quite meagre. A few manuscripts of ritualistic works on the deities except the last one have been noticed (RASB., VIII). Śārikā riding on a lion and carrying weapons in her four hands sticks to the body of Śiva (*Śārikānityapūjāpaddhati*). Kubjikā belonging to the Paścimāmnāya rests on his left thigh (*Puraścaryārṇava*).

25 लीलया वाक्प्रदा चेति तेन नीलसरस्वती ।
तारकत्वात् सदा तारा सुखमोक्षप्रदायिनी ।
उग्रापत्तारिणी यस्माद् उग्रतारा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ —*Tantrasāra*, section on Tārā.

CHAPTER XI

KĀLĪ WORSHIP IN BENGAL

Kālī is one of the most popular deities worshipped in Bengal. She is worshipped on different occasions under different names and forms, all fearful and ferocious, manifesting the spirit of destruction which she represents. There are many shrines in or outside Bengal wherever people of the place have come to be settled containing earthen, stone, or metal images consecrated to the deity. For occasional festive worship earthen images are prepared and thrown into the water after the ceremonies.

There are references to the goddess in a number of Purāṇas and Tantras generally of unknown date. The *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describes the origin of the deity. It is stated that she emerged from the forehead of the Divine Mother who became black with anger as the demons headed by Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa came to attack her (VII. 5 ff.). Kālī came out with a big hideous face and a dreadful appearance. She carried a sword, a noose and a club. She wore the skin of a tiger and had as her ornament a garland of human heads. Her eyes were red and sunken. Her tongue moved to and fro. Her shrill voice filled the quarters. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, there is a description of the beautiful and sublime aspect of the deity in the form of Bhadrakālī. More or less fearful forms of the deity with the name Mahākālī or Bhadrakālī are described in works like the *Kāraṇāgama*, *Caṇḍīkalpa*, *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, and *Devī Purāṇa*.[1] There is a reference to Kālī in her terrible form in the Kinsariya stone inscription of Cacca dated 1056 of the Vikrama Era (A.D. 999).[2]

The forms of the deity which have been known and worshipped in Bengal for at least the last few centuries are those described in Tantra works such as the *Kālītantra*. Few images representing such forms are preserved in museums or collections of antiquities. Of later works which deal with details of the worship of the deity, the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda[3] and the *Śyāmārahasya* of Pūrṇānanda are well known.

1 See T. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 357, 358, 363, 368 ; Appendix C, pp. 116, 117, 123, 128.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 59.

3 According to an uncorroborated account, it was Kṛṣṇānanda who through divine inspiration conceived of the image of Kālī as worshipped in Bengal.

In her most popular form of Dakṣiṇakālika, the deity[4] is fearful, has four hands and a gruesome face and is black as a cloud. She is adorned with a garland of human heads. Her body is smeared with the blood oozing from these heads. Two corpses constitute her ear ornaments. Her girdle is formed by the hands of dead bodies. She holds in her two left hands a freshly severed head and a sword and her two right hands are in the postures of *abhaya* (freedom from fear) and *varada* (bestowing gifts). Blood trickles through the corners of her mouth. She has her abode on the cremation ground. She has three eyes bright as the orb of the morning sun. Her flowing hair hangs on her right side. Her teeth protrude. Her breasts are large and high. She is naked (*digambarī*) and is seated on the bosom of Mahādeva lying as dead. She takes the initiative in sexual dalliance with Mahākāla. She is surrounded on all sides by howling and fearful she-jackals.

Different descriptions are given in the *Svatantratantra* and *Siddheśvaratantra* as quoted in the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda. According to the first of these works, the goddess has a sacred thread made of serpents and is in a frenzy of intoxication. According to the second work, which mentions only a few characteristics, she holds a skull and a dagger in two of her hands.

In the form known as Siddhakālī,[5] her body overflows with nectar dropping from the moon pierced by the sword in her right hand. She drinks blood fıom a skull held in her left hand. She is naked and has flowing hair. Her colour is that of a blue lotus. She is adorned with a jewelled crown and other ornaments. The sun and the moon are her bright ear ornaments. She stands with her left foot forward in the Ālīḍha position.

Guhyakālī[6] is covered with a black cloth. She has sunken eyes, fearful teeth, a restless tongue, and a smiling face. She has a necklace and a sacred thread made of serpents and is seated on a bed of serpents. A lock of her matted hair touches the sky. She sips wine. She has a garland of fifty human heads. Her belly is large. Above her head are the thousand hoods of Ananta, the king of serpents. She is surrounded on all sides by serpent hoods. The great serpent Takṣaka

4 *Kālītantra*, I. 27ff., quoted in the *Tantrasāra*. She is called Dakṣiṇā because she is generous in bestowing boons (*Śyāmārahasya*, VI. 5).

5 *Kālītantra*, X. 33 ; *Śyāmārahasya*, VI. 15 ; *Tantrasāra*, [*Śyāmā-*] *mantrabhedāḥ* section.

6 *Tantrasāra*, section on Guhyakālī.

forms her left bangle and Ananta the right. Her anklet is made of gems. Her ear ornaments are human bodies. To her left there is Śiva in the form of a child. She has two hands and a pleased expression on her face. She is adorned with nine gems.

Bhadrakālī[7] is emaciated with hunger. Her eyes are sunken. Her face is black as ink. Her teeth are like the black Jambū berries. She has flowing hair. She weeps and says, "I am not satisfied. I shall swallow the whole world at one gulp." With her two hands she holds a noose bright as a blazing fire.

Śmaśānakālī[8] is black like a hill of collyrium and has her abode on the cremation ground. She has dishevelled hair, a thin body, and a dreadful appearance. She has tawny eyes. She carries in her right hand a skull full of wine and in her left hand a freshly severed head. With a smiling face she is constantly chewing raw meat. Her body is adorned with various ornaments. She is naked and ever intoxicated with wine. Her usual place of worship is the cremation ground where the worshipper is to perform the rituals with a naked body.

Rakṣākālī or Mahākālī[9] is black in colour, has four hands, and is adorned with garlands of heads, one on her head and the other on her shoulders. In her two right hands she holds a sword and two lotuses and in the left hands a dagger and a skull. Her matted hair touches the sky. She has a necklace of serpents. Her eyes are red. She wears a black cloth and has a tiger's skin round her waist. Her left foot is on the breast of a corpse and the right on the back of a lion. She sips wine, bursts into terrible laughter and makes deep loud sounds. She is immensely fearful.

Other forms of the deity are also known. The *Śyāmārahasya* describes one in a sitting posture (VI. 5) and another standing on a skull and brightened with a red cloth (XV. 22). Special rituals are prescribed for the worship of these different forms of the deity. Besides the regular worship in the normal form offered daily in the houses of devotees as well as in various shrines, special worship is performed on particular occasions. Three days are of importance in this connection: the Diwali day, the Raṭantī-caturdaśī day, and the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyaiṣṭha. Of these the Diwali festival is the most popular, though perhaps not the oldest. Kālī is

7 *Tantrasāra*, section on Bhadrakālī.

8 *Śyāmārahasya*, VI. 21, 22 ; *Tantrasāra*, section on Śmaśānakālī.

9 *Tantrasāra*, [*Śyāmā-*] *mantrabhedāḥ* section, where no special name of the deity is mentioned.

worshipped on this day with great pomp and grandeur but no reference to such worship has been traced in any old work. The oldest reference that I have been able to trace is in the *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi* of Kāśīnātha composed in the Śaka year 1699. Kāśīnātha has quoted passages from Purāṇas and Tantras to prove the importance of the worship of Kālī on Diwali day.[10] Kāśīnātha's advocacy in the matter appears to be rather suspicious. Probably he was prompted by a desire to popularize a festival not so widely prevalent in his time. Similar attempts are reported to have been made by others also. We are told that Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra (18th century) of Nadia ordered all his subjects to perform this worship on threat of punishment.[11] As a result, more than ten thousand images of the goddess came to be worshipped on this occasion every year in the district of Nadia. Īśānacandra, the grandson of Kṛṣṇacandra, consecrated to this deity thousands of maunds of sweetmeats, thousands of pieces of cloth and huge quantities of other things. Besides this, his incidental expenses in this connection amounted to about twenty thousand rupees a year.

The worship of Kālī has been widely prescribed for the Raṭantī-caturdaśī day (fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha). The pertinent text in this connection as attributed to the *Smṛtisamuccaya* is quoted by Govindānanda, Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, and Kāśīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra in their Smṛti and Tantra digests.[12] The ceremonies on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Jyaiṣṭha are performed mainly with fruits and are known as *phalahāriṇī pūjā*.

Worship is offered on these and other festive occasions in the night, usually at midnight. Special worship is also generally performed in shrines on new moon nights which along with Tuesdays and Saturdays are regarded as sacred to the deity. Worship is offered also at times of rejoicing (as on the occasion of a marriage ceremony) and thanksgiving as well as at times of calamity such as the outbreak of epidemics, especially cholera, with which the deity is particularly associated, at least in some parts of Bengal. When an epidemic breaks out in a village, public worship of the deity, especially in the form of Rakṣākālī or Śmaśānakālī, is performed with the help of donations and formal

10 MS. of the Asiatic Society, fol. 94a.

11 W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, Vol. II, p. 124.

12 मकरावस्थिते भानौ या तु कृष्णा चतुर्दशी ।
तत्रादौ कालिका पूज्या सर्वविघ्नोपशान्तये ॥
—*Varṣakriyākaumudī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 497.

begging in which even respectable people often take part. It may be mentioned in this connection, that Kālī is regarded as the guardian deity against cholera even in some villages in South India, where she is worshipped as the protectress against evil spirits and wild beasts, as the favourite goddess of bird-catchers and as the boundary goddess who is supposed to ward off any evil which may cause havoc to a village.[13]

Animal sacrifice is a special feature of Śakti worship, particularly of Kālī worship in Bengal. Goats, sheep and buffaloes are sacrificed. The heads are severed from the bodies with a single stroke of a sharp and heavy scimitar. The sacrifice of human beings is also sometimes reported to have been practised.[14] The number of animals sacrificed on certain occasions in the past appears to be staggering. However, due to various reasons, this has been reduced to the minimum in these days and the practice is being slowly modified by the substitution of fruits and plants like pumpkin-gourd, cucumber, and sugarcane. Apparently revolting practices associated with the worship of the deity are resorted to, if at all in these days, by members of particular sects like Kaulas who are required to observe strict secrecy in the matter.

13 H. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, Calcutta, 1916, p. 28.

14 It is said that some of the important shrines of the deity are placed on five human heads (*pañca-muṇḍī*) presumably of persons sacrificed with a view to her propitiation. I have not, however, been able to trace this awful practice in the current works dealing with Tantra rites.

CHAPTER XII

CULT OF DURGĀ AND DURGĀ WORSHIP IN BENGAL

Durga is a well-known deity in the modern Hindu pantheon, particularly in Bengal. Worship (*pūjā*) is offered to her in various forms and on various occasions. There are people whose tutelary deity is Durgā, whom they worship everyday. Besides worship proper, muttering (*japa*) of her name several thousand times forms part of auspicious rites (*svastyayana*) performed in times of diseases and other calamities. Details about her and her worship are found in the Purāṇas and the Tantras.

The etymological meaning of the word 'Durgā' is supposed to be 'the deity that removes grave dangers'. It is stated in the *Devī-māhātmya* (XI. 50) that the goddess earned the name of Durgā because of her killing the demon Durgama. She is referred to as *durgārtināśinī*, one who destroys grave sufferings. In Bengali homes, she is commonly called *durgatināśinī*, one who puts down calamities.

There are sections in works like the *Māyā Tantra*,[1] the *Kālīvilāsa Tantra*,[2] the *Rudrayāmala*[3] and the *Matsya-sūkta*[4] dealing with the worship of Durgā in the Tāntric form. Besides there are quite a good number

1 It prescribes (chapters VII, VIII and IX) and speaks highly (chapter XII) of Kūlācāra in connection with the worship of Durgā with the details of which it deals. It provides for the use of various types of flesh and meat for this purpose (chapter IV). The references are to the manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society (RASB., VIII, 5985) which seems to agree with L. I. 214 but not with HPR. I, 285.

2 The Asiatic Society has a manuscript of the work complete in 25 chapters.

3 Manuscripts of the *Devīcaritra* and *Navadurgāpūjārahasya* sections attributed to this tantra are in the library of the Asiatic Society (RASB., VIII, 5879, 5885). The former gives the story of Durgā's advent and the details of her worship in connection with the Navarātri festival in autumn. It refers (chapter XI) to the use of new cloths on this occasion. The latter describes the details of the worship of what are called the nine forms of the deity (Śailaputrī, Brahmacāriṇī, Caṇḍaghaṇṭā, Kuṣmāṇḍī, Skandamātā, Kātyāyanī, Kālarātri, Mahāgaurī, Devadūtī).

4 The *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* quotes details of the autumnal festival from this work which refers to the worship of different forms of the deity in different parts, e.g., eight-handed form in Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Madhyadeśa; eighteen-handed in Ayodhyā, Surāṣṭra, Śrīhaṭṭa and Kośala; twelve-handed in Mahendra, Himālaya, Kuru, Mathurā and Kedāra; ten-handed in Makaranda, Virāṭa, Kaumāra, Gauḍa and Pāripātra; four-handed in Marahaṭṭa, Nepāla, Kaccha and Kaṅkana; two-handed near the sea.

of hymns (*stotras* and *kavacas*) attributed to various Tantras, known and unknown. And Tantra digests and manuals compiled in different parts of the country deal with her worship and the great variety of forms of the deity. Besides Durgā proper, we have reference to her nine forms called Navadurgā, as well as to other forms like Śūlinī, Vanadurgā, Jayadurgā, deities which might have been different in origin, but later on syncretized through the process of assimilation characteristic of the people of India.

Durgā is a four-handed deity seated on a lion holding in her hands a conch, a disc, bow and arrows and bedecked with ornaments. Śulinī is black, eight-handed, dreadful to the enemies, attended by four maidens carrying clubs. Folk rites are associated with the worship of Vanadurgā and Jayadurgā in Bengal. The descriptions that we have of them refer to their terrible appearances. The former[5] is worshipped along with other demon deities of whom she is the mother, especially on certain auspicious occasions like marriage etc. The worship of the latter[6] is little known. It is attended with certain vulgar acts like naked dances, speaking ill words about the deity herself and threatening her if she does not accept the worship. Burnt fish is offered to the deity. The deity is described as dark-coloured like the cloud of the day of destruction, three-eyed, four-handed, having a look that strikes terror into the enemies, riding on a lion, carrying conch, disc, sword and trident by the hands, filling the three worlds with her lustre. She is surrounded by the gods and worshipped by the Siddhas.

One form called Jagaddhātri, dealt with in the *Māyā Tantra* (chapters 2 and 4)[7] under the general name Durgā, is worshipped in Bengal on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika, just one month after the autumnal *pūjā*.[8] She is a four-handed deity seated on a lion and having a snake as the sacred thread. In her right

5 Different descriptions of the deity are known. For details of the worship of the deity see *Man in India*, 1922, pp. 228-41, JPASB, 1930, pp. 379-88. Also see *Śāradātilaka*, XI, 63ff. and *Vanadurgākalpa* (RASB, VIII, 6067).

6 See *Man in India*, Vol. XI, p. 4, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIV, p. 69ff.

7 Portions from these sections are quoted in the *Tantrasāra* without any acknowledgment.

8 This special worship is prescribed by Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati of the 15th century, though it is popularly supposed that the festival was introduced in the middle of the 19th century by one Candracūḍa Tarkacūḍāmaṇi of the court of Girīśacandra (19th century), great grandson of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia where the festival is still the most important and popular one performed on a grand scale (IHQ., 1951, p. 257).

hands, she has a disc and a bunch of fine arrows, and in the left, a conch and a bow. She wears a red cloth, and has the colour of the morning sun. Large-sized images of the deity are made in certain localities, and the *pūjā* is performed with great pomp.

The autumnal worship of Durgā is the most important and popular event in the religious year of the Hindus especially in Bengal. It consists of elaborate rituals requiring the expenditure of large sums of money and the service of a good many people. It is therefore sometimes called the *aśvamedha* (the well-known horse-sacrifice of the Vedas) of the Kali age. Every well-to-do man, two or three generations back, considered it to be his religious duty or rather proud privilege to invite on this occasion the Mother of the universe to his house and do this *pūjā*. It provided an occasion for joy and merry-making to the near and dear ones of the worshipper. Arrangements were made for sumptuous feasts, and numerous people were fed during all the three days of the *pūjā*. *Pūjā* in one house meant feast and festivity for all the neighbouring houses. This caused considerable inconvenience in some quarters. The meat-seller, we are told by Mukundarāma in his Bengali poem *Caṇḍī-maṅgala* (*circa* sixteenth century), had a very bad time, for nobody would buy meat from him, as it was available to every one from animals sacrificed during the worship of Durgā.

With the progress of time, there has been considerable change in the economic condition and outlook on life of the people. Worship in private houses has become rare, and public worship in public places with the help and co-operation of neighbouring people has become the order of the day. Feeding of people is no longer considered to be essential. In some cases, of course, arrangements are made for the feeding of the poor. However, in spite of the changes in customs and practices, the joyful atmosphere is still there on the occasion of *Durgā-pūjā*. There is a general appearance of gaiety everywhere. New garments are worn and given to near and dear ones. Special arrangements are made for dainty dishes in individual homes according to one's means.

The autumnal worship of the deity is believed to have originated from the time of Rāmacandra. It is stated that Brahmā awakened the deity during the night time of the gods, with a view to seeking favour for Rāma to kill Rāvaṇa. The goddess rose from her sleep in the bright half of the month of Āśvina and went to the city of Laṅkā, where Rāma was already present. Going there, she engaged Rāma and Rāvaṇa in fighting, while she herself remained invisible. While she looked on the game of fighting, the gods worshipped her for seven nights. When Rāvaṇa was killed on the ninth day of the month the

great grand-father of the people, Brahmā, offered special worship to Durgā along with all the gods. Then, on the tenth day, the goddess was sent back to her abode with festivities fitting the occasion. The story is narrated in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (L X. 26-33)[9] quoted by Rāmānuja in his commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Laṅkākāṇḍa*, Canto 110, concluding verse) and by Govindānanda in his *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* (p. 368) where the source is given as *Liṅga Purāṇa*. Several other Purāṇas, like the *Devībhāgavata* and the *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* contain similar descriptions. But there is no reference to any such incident in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. The Bengali version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, ascribed to Kṛttivāsa (fifteenth century), gives a vivid description of the worship offered to Durgā by Rāma on the eve of his march against Rāvaṇa.

According to the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, King Suratha and Samādhi, a Vaiśya, had their desires fulfilled through the worship of the deity. It may be noted in passing that the king wanted objects of worldly enjoyment, while the Vaiśya wanted to attain spiritual knowledge. But the time of the year when they performed the worship is not recorded.

Whatever might be its date and manner of origin, the autumnal celebration of the worship of Śakti, in one form or another, is witnessed all over India. It is known as *Durgā-pūjā* in eastern India and some other parts, as *navarātri* and *Rāmalīlā* in northern India, and as *dusserah* or *navarātri* in southern India. Feasts and festivities usually attract the notice of the general observer, the worship proper, which is not always a public performance, more often than not escaping the eye of all but the inquisitive. A close observation would, however, reveal that the worship of Śakti for days together in temples and many houses, accompanied by the chanting of the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, is a common feature of the celebration behind all festive performances. But as matters stand, religious rites are more or less neglected and hence little known, especially outside the regions of observance.

People of one part of the country have scarcely any idea of the feasts and festivities of other or neighbouring parts. Works dealing with the subject usually confine themselves to particular regions and, more often

9 रामस्यानुग्रहार्थाय रावणस्य वधाय च ।
रात्रावेव महादेवी ब्रह्मणा बोधिता पुरा ॥ २६ ॥
... ...
विशेषपूजा दुर्गायाश्चक्रे लोकपितामहः ।
ततः सम्प्रेषिता देवी दशम्यां शाबरोत्सवैः ॥ ३२-३ ॥

than not to superficial observations. As a result, no complete picture of the religious life of the presentday Hindus, scattered over different parts of our vast country, and exhibiting interesting peculiarities and variations in the observance of the same or similar occasions, is available. Such a picture would emphasize the unity amidst diversities in our rites and practices. A task such as this may be possible only through the joint efforts of scholars from different parts of the country possessing intimate knowledge of local practices. Here I would deal with *Durgā-pūjā* rites as observed in Bengal.

It is not definitely known exactly as to when the *pūjā*, in its present form, came into vogue in this part of the country. It is undoubtedly several centuries old, during which period a huge amount of literature has grown up dealing with the proper time and details of worship. Of numerous authors of this literature, mention may be made of the following: Jīmūtavāhana (eleventh-twelfth century). Śrīnātha (fifteenth-sixteenth century), Śūlapāṇi (fifteenth-sixteenth century), Govindānanda (sixteenth century), and Raghunandana (sixteenth century).[10]

In spite of minor variations in the rites and practices, as recorded in the works produced at different times and at different places, the main pattern and the principal functions are the same everywhere. The worship is performed in a form laid down in Purāṇas like *Nandikeś-vara,*° *Devī,*° *Kālikā*° and *Matsya*° though it is overlaid by the Tantric form so much so that no person not initiated in the Tantra rites is to take any active part in it. The worship is offered to an earthen image of the goddess whose description is given below. There are a number of intersting and peculiar items worth mentioning. The principal *pūjā* lasts for three days, the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of the bright half of the month of Āśvina. The preliminaries begin much earlier, in some cases as early as the ninth day of the preceding dark fortnight, the deity being worshipped regularly though in a simple form for the first twelve days, the worship being accompanied by the reading of the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*

The celebration begins normally on the fifth day of the month when

10 Some of these authors provide for a spring festival called the *Vāsantī-pūjā* just in the manner of the autumnal one, but it is not so pouplar. Govindānanda has quoted an extract from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* prescribing, in place of the *Vāsantī-pūjā* the worship of Durga on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra while an extract from the *Devīpurāṇa* quoted by him along with Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati eulogises the worship of Mahiṣamardinī on the following day, *e g.*, the ninth day. The references may be to an one-day festival of the type of the present day worship of the deity called Annapūrṇā which falls on the above-mentioned eighth day.

in the evening a ceremony called *bodhana* or awakening is performed on a *bel* tree, which is believed to be a great favourite of the deity. *Mantras* are uttered stating that the deity was invoked on the tree formerly by Brahmā for the good of Rāma and for killing Rāvaṇa, and that she is now invoked by the worshipper with the prayer for showering boons on him for the attainment of *dharma, artha, kāma,* and *mokṣa.*

On the evening of the sixth is observed the *adhivāsa* ceremony, which precedes *pūjās* of some other deities as well as sacramental rites like giving rice to the baby for the first time, sacred thread ceremony, and marriage. The *adhivāsa* is performed for sanctifying the different limbs of the deity with the touch of different sacred objects.

On and from the seventh day the *pūjā,* with all its paraphernalia, starts with the bathing of the *navapatrikā,* or nine sprouts, bound together with an *aparājitā* creeper and covered with a *sārī* in the manner of a newly married girl. It is called *kalā-bau* (plantain-wife). It is supposed to represent the wife of Gaṇeśa by whose side it is generally placed. At the time of worship, each sprout is supposed to stand for a particular form of the goddess: Brahmāṇī is the presiding deity of the plantain, Kālī of *kacvī,* Durgā of *haridrā,* Kārtikī of *jayantī,* Śiva of *bilva,* Raktadantikā of *dāḍima,* Śokarahitā of *aśoka,* Cāmuṇḍā of *māna,* Lakṣmī of paddy, and Durgā, again, of *navapatrikā* as a whole.

The next, and one of the most important, item of the worship is the *mahāsnāna,* or the great bathing of the deity, which is performed on the reflected image of the deity in a mirror placed on a pot in front of the priest. Various articles are required for the purpose of this bathing, namely, cold water, hot water, conch-water, water from the Gaṅgā, from the ocean, from the Sarasvatī, rain water, water from a spring, *pañcagavya, pañcāmṛta, pañcakaṣāya,* water in which *pañcaśasya* is saturated, sugar water, sandal water, earth touched by the tusk of an elephant, earth touched by the teeth of a boar, earth sticking to the horn of a bull, earth from the door of a prostitute's house, earth from an ant-hill, from the bed of a river, from the Gaṅgā, from the banks of the river, from the ocean, from a cow-shed, and from a cross-road. Bathing with a particular object is to be accompanied by a particular type of music. But this is no longer observed.

The bathing is followed by *pūjā* proper of the main and accompanying deities. Sacrifice of animals, usually goats and buffaloes, constituted a very important part of the worship in days not long past. The number of animals sacrificed during a day, even in one house, was often very large. The practice has now lost its popularity, and animals are sacrificed, if at all, in very small numbers.

Almost the same procedure, with minor additions and alterations, is to be followed on the second and third days of worship. A special worship is also offered on the second day. This is called the *sandhipūjā*, which is performed at the juncture of the *tithis* of *aṣṭamī* and *navamī*. On this occasion, Śakti is worshipped in her Cāmuṇḍā form, though no special image is made for the purpose. This *pūjā* is stated by Govindānanda to have no sanction of the Śāstras, but is performed as a custom, which is referred to in works of the sixteenth century.

On the fourth day of worship, in the evening, the image of the deity is immersed in a tank or a river. In the morning, worship is offered on a small scale with offerings which resemble food and other things given formerly to a daughter on the occasion of her leaving her father's house for her husband's. Durgā is looked upon as one's daughter, and she comes to the house of the worshipper, her father, annually for three days. And during the worship, she is to be treated like one's own daughter as much as the supreme Mother. One witnesses really a pathetic scene when the image of the deity is taken away from the place of worship and members of the family of the worshipper gather round with tears in their eyes.

Touching songs, called the *vijayā* songs, were composed in Bengali from the eighteenth century onwards commemorating this occasion. Deep paternal care is also reflected in what are called the *āgamanī* songs, which hail the deity, the daughter, coming to the house of her father after a year's stay in the house of her husband. There is no echo of any such lofty sentiment in the music and mirth noticed in these days at the time of bringing in the image or taking it out for immersion. The latter has, of course, the sanction of the Śāstras, which prescribe music and merry-making on different occasions during the *pūjā* celebrations.

The goddess, it is laid down in the Śāstras, is to be awakened with sports, fun, and other auspicious rites. On the second day of worship, one is to keep awake in the night with songs, instrumental music, and great festivities. And the immersion ceremony is to be performed in the midst of festivities of the Śabara people, consisting of throwing mud and dust at each other, uttering obscene expressions, singing vulgar songs, and shamelessly indulging in vulgar acts. It is stated that a person who does not speak ill of others, and who is not himself spoken ill of by them on this occasion incurs the displeasure of the goddess, who hurls very severe curses on him. Younger people in Bengal utilize the occasion by taking part in revelries disliked by older people, though they scarcely exceed the limits of decency.

After the immersion ceremony, people greet one another. Younger people bow down to the older ones, who embrace the former and bless them. This is known as the *vijayā* day, evidently in commemoration of the victory (*vijaya*) of Rāma over Rāvaṇa.

It is stated that different types of conveyances are used by the goddess in her coming to, and going away from, the earth. If she uses an elephant there is enough rain, and as a result people have a bumper crop. If she uses a boat the result is a great epidemic. The popular belief is that, if the deity has a commodious vehicle at the time of her arrival, she brings many things to her father's (i.e. the worshipper's) house, while a similar vehicle at the time of departure would mean her taking away things from her father's causing privations to him.

The worship is offered, as has already been hinted, to an earthen image, which sometimes is quite big and lavishly decorated. The image is of the Mahiṣamardinī type, flanked on both sides by images of Kārtika, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. The popular belief is that the goddess does not come alone to her father's house and so she is accompanied by her two sons and two daughters. But why should she be coming to her father's in a fighting posture ? Some people arrange all the images in fighting postures, as if all of them are combining to fight Mahiṣāsura. This is not quite satisfactory and here we miss both domestic simplicity and divine sublimity. In fact, no image that we witness these days answers to the description of the deity as given in the Śāstras and as is repeated at the time of worship in invoking the deity.

It is rather curious that the same description is uttered in the worship of a deity called Gandheśvarī who is worshipped by the *baniyās* on the last day of the month of Vaiśākha. According to this description, which is different from that generally occurring in Tantra works, the deity is covered with matted hair ; has the half moon as the ornament of the head ; has three eyes ; has the colour of the *atasī* flower ; has three bends in her standing posture ; is engaged in fighting the buffalo-demon ; and has ten arms with trident, scimitar, disc, sharp arrow, and *śakti*, one below the other, in the right, and *kheṭaka*, bow, net, *aṅkuśa*, and bell or axe in the left.

The buffalo with the head severed should be placed at the bottom together with a demon coming out of its body, as the head was severed from it, having a scimitar in hand, pierced in the chest with the trident, shining with sinews thrown out, with the body besmeared with blood, fastened all round with serpents like a net, with a

frowning and terrible face, held by the hair by Durgā with her left hand carrying the net.

The lion of the goddess should be shown with blood-vomitting mouth. The right foot of the deity is evenly fixed on the back of the lion, while her left toe is on the buffalo, a bit higher up. In that fashion, she should be shown as being eulogized by the gods. One should meditate on her, the mainstay of the three worlds and the fulfiller of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*, who is always surrounded by eight *śaktis*: Ugracaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍogrā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍavatī, Caṇḍarūpā, and Aticaṇḍikā.

In the above description, there is no mention of the sons and daughters of the goddess, whose images form parts of the image worshipped. The *Kālīvilāsa Tantra*, a comparatively later work of unknown date, makes reference to them[11] and gives their anthropomorphic descriptions. Some of the old manuals of worship, of course, prescribe the worship of Gaṇeśa, Kārtika, and others without giving any description. So it is not possible to determine the actual date when the images of these deities came to be added to the image of Durgā proper. It may be that this was done at the instance of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (eighteenth century). According to a local tradition, it was he who introduced *Durgā-pūjā* in Bengal. The tradition, if it has any value, may be partially true in that he might have introduced the *pūjā* in its present form.

11 शरत्कालीन मर्दिन्याः पूजनं संश्रुतं प्रभो ।
कालिकायाः पुराणेषु तथा देवीषु हे प्रभो ॥
पूजनं कार्तिकादीनां न च कुत्रापि संश्रुतम् ।
तन्मे कथय हे देव यदि तेऽस्ति दया मयि ॥

Kālīvilāsatantra, ch. 19, Fol. 38 B (Asiatic Society's Ms).

या विद्या प्रकृतिर्लक्ष्मीर्दुर्गाया दक्षिणे स्थिता ।
शारदा सरस्वती नित्या वामभागे सदा स्थिता ॥

Op. cit. ch. 20, Fol. 44 A.

Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are sometimes replaced by Jayā and Vijayā or by Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A reference to the first two is found in the tantra quoted above.

जया च वामभागे च विजया दक्षिणे तथा ।
वामे च कार्त्तिकं देवं दक्षिणे गणपतिं तथा ॥

Op. cit. Fol. 43 A.

Whatever be the date of origin, the conception is quite in keeping with the ideal of life of the people of India, especially of Bengal, who are usually accompanied by members of the family wherever they go. A mother would not usually part company with her children if she has to go to any place, particularly to the house of her father. We have folk-songs referring to the grievances of Durgā that proper invitation was not sent to her children, when she was asked to come. The worship of Durgā in its present form is a reflection of the family life of Bengal ; and it is looked upon as such by the people, who thereby get mental satisfaction and spiritual elevation.

APPENDIX

PARAMĀNANDAMATASAṂGRAHA

A Little-known Work of the Pārānanda School

The only work so far known expounding the doctrines and practices of the little-known Pārānanda school of Tantric worship, which puts a taboo on ritualistic details as also on animal sacrifice, which latter is usually an essential feature of Śakti-worship in general, appears to be the *Pārānandasūtra* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Volume LVI, Baroda, 1931). The Asiatic Society possesses a fragmentary manuscript[1] of another small work on the subject, called the *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha.*[2] It gives a brief account of the school. While the Sūtra, which is diffuse and full of repetitions, is at times difficult to follow, the present work though of small extent, is clear and systematic.

This is a metrical work, interspersed by a few prose lines, containing about a hundred verses.[3] The portion of the work preserved in this manuscript gives a fair idea of the views of the school. The work is mainly in the form of interlocutions between Śiva and sages like Agastya, Nārada and Vaśiṣṭha, presumably to give it an old appearance. No opinion can possibly be expressed at the present stage with regard to the date of the work.

It opens with benedictory verses, four and a half in number, in which salutations are offered to deities like Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Śakti, Viṣṇu,

1 Substance, country-made paper. Size, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Folia, 1-18 of which Fol. 5, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are missing. Lines, 6 on a page. Extent in ślokas, 85. Character, modern Nāgara. Appearance, fresh.

The MS. does not contain any colophon and there is no reference to the name of the author or even of the work. The name, *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha*, along with the name of the original owner of the manuscript, Raghunath Malaviya of Varanasi, a number of MSS. belonging to whom are in the Society's collection, is found on the obverse of Fol. 1, apparently written in a hand different from that of the copyist of the MS.

2 Works like the *Paramānandatantra* or the *Parānandapurāṇa*, at least the portions thereof preserved in the Asiatic Society and the Madras Oriental Library, do not appear to have anything to do with this school. While the Purāṇa describes legends concerning the greatness of Śiva the Tantra deals with rites connected with Śrīvidyā.

3 Some of the verses, which are apparently taken from earlier works, are also found in the Sūtra. The language in both works is occasionally almost identical.

Sūrya and Maheśvara as also to various sages such as Paramānanda, founder of the school, who is later on identified with Śiva, Devānanda, his disciple, Nityānanda, his brother, Nārada, Agastya, Vaśiṣṭha and others who belong to three different orders of the school (*Uttarācāra*, *Vāmācāra* and *Dakṣiṇācāra*).

The introductory portion that follows makes a passing reference to various schools of thought that gradually lead to the supreme school of the Pārānanda. The next section enumerates and defines the different categories of the school (e. g., Paramātman, Īśvara and Jīva). A short description is given here of the Paramātmaloka or the region of the Supreme Being which is stated to be the final goal of all beings, earthly or divine. There is also a reference to the Sānanda region where all are taken at the time of the periodical dissolution of the world. A description of the order of the creation of the universe follows. It is stated how the Supreme Being after creating the universe created Brahman and the other deities who in their turn and in obedience to the orders of the former, created different worlds of their own. They had separate functions allocated to each of them by the Supreme Being.

The work next proceeds to state how different sages came to Paramānanda Śiva, and were initiated into different orders of the school. When Vaśiṣṭha and others approached Paramānanda, he pointed out the peculiarities of the school, e.g., absence of *nyāsa* or ritualistic details and of *hiṃsā* or killing of moving and non-moving things. When a sacrifice is prescribed an inanimate object should be offered in place of an animate being. Thus an image made of cake should be sacrificed when a goat is mentioned. An exception is, however, made at the end of the work in the case of a king who is allowed to kill animals under certain conditions. When doubt was expressed by the sages with regard to the propriety of this injunction, the sages were silenced by Śiva saying that the statement of the preceptor should be followed without hesitation and regarded as nothing but true ; for what he speaks is proper (*yukta*) and not ambiguous (*yojya*) or tinged by rancour (*yojita*). It is indicated next how different objects may be classified according to the school into *sādisānta* (with beginning and end), *anādyananta* (without beginning or end), *sādyananta* (with beginning but without end). Under the first category comes the world, under the second fall paramātman, jīva, Īśvara, paramānandaloka and objects found there, whilst under the last come divine bodies. Two types of *karman* or action are referred to: one, that which is to one's credit (*sañcita*), two, that which is operative (*kriyamāṇaka*). *Jīvanmukti* or living emancipation is said to take place when one meets with *Īśvara*.

The next topic dealt with is the importance and nature of initiation. A description of the process is, however, unfortunately missing in the present manuscript. It is stated that Vaśiṣṭha and other sages were duly initiated into the Dakṣiṇamārga or the Right-hand Order, and were instructed to follow all injunctions of Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa leaving aside nyāsa and animal sacrifice. It is emphasized that the system is not un-Vedic, for, only those who recognize the authority of the Vedas have a claim to join the school.

Nārada, Agastya and others who came next were, according to their wish, initiated into Vāmācāra or Left-hand Order. In pointing out the characteristic features of the Order, two types of it are mentioned, the superior and the moderate. Of the five M's—*Madya* (wine), *Māṃsa* (meat), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudrā* (parched or fried grain) and *Maithuna* (copulation)—only fish and meat are prohibited in the former as these seem to have been regarded as more objectionable than the rest. Those who are taken into the order are given names ending in *nātha.*

Then came two sages Deva and Devadeva by name who were initiated into the Uttara or Superior Order. Begging and serving people for money are condemned for persons entering the order. They can, however, accept things even from those who perpetrate evil if they are offered without asking. The names given to people of this order end in *ānanda.*

Kings following this school are allowed to take part in war, kill ferocious wild beasts giving trouble to people engaged in religious rites in hermitages, and offer them before the goddess Kālī. In fact the king by doing all these things gains religious merit.

The incomplete text of the *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha,* a running summary of the contents of which has been given above, is published below on the basis of the only MS. belonging to the Society. Inspite of all imperfections due to its fragmentary character and irremediable corruptions[4] introduced by the ignorant copyist, it will be found to serve the purpose of a useful introduction to the study of the Pārānanda school as a helpful aid to the study of the larger and more informative *Pārānandasūtra,* ample reference to relevant portions of which has been given in the footnotes with a view to facilitating comparative study. It should be noticed that little that does not occur in the sūtra is met with in the present work, save and except that it refers, in one of the introductory verses, to a brother of Paramānanda, who himself seems to have further on been identified with Śiva.

4 Spelling mistakes and other apparent inaccuracies have, however, been silently corrected in the following pages.

परमानन्दमतसंग्रहः

[मङ्गलाचरणम्]

विघ्नेशं भैरवं शक्तिं विष्णुं सूर्यं महेश्वरम् ।
भक्तेषु वात्सल्ययुतान् नमाम्येतान् पुनः पुनः ॥ १ ॥
आचार्यं परमानन्दं नमामि च जगद्गुरुम् ।
शिष्यतापप्रहर्तारं दातारं सर्वसम्पदाम् ॥ २ ॥
देवानन्दं च तच्छिष्यं नित्यानन्दं तु भ्रातरम् ।
सिद्धांश्च ह्युत्तमाचारान् उत्तराचारदीक्षितान् ॥ ३ ॥
नारदादीनगस्त्यादीन् वामाचारस्थितान् मुनीन् ।
वसिष्ठादीन् मुनिवरान् दक्षिणाचारदीक्षितान् ॥ ४ ॥
नमा[Fol. 2A]मि परमान[न्द]मतस्थान् ऋषिपुङ्गवान् ॥ ५ ॥

[उपोद्घातप्रकरणम्[1]]

मतानि च बहून्यत्र तामसादिप्रभेदतः ॥
वेदाप्रामाण्यवादीनि तन्मतस्था नराः क्वचित् ।
तमोमुख्यानि तेष्वेव नास्तिकानां मतानि च ॥ १ ॥
कुर्वतश्चैव धर्मं स्वं यथोक्तं मतभावितम् ॥ २ ॥
क्वचिज्जन्मनि ते यान्ति वेदप्रामाण्यवादिषु ।
जैमिन्याद्यास्तिकानां च राजसेषु मतेषु च ॥ ३ ॥
तत्रापि पुण्यपुञ्जानां सम्पाद्याद्रीन् प्रयत्नतः ।
परानन्दम[2B]ते चास्मिन् सर्वोत्कृष्टोत्तमे शुभे ॥ ४ ॥

इति उपोद्घातप्रकरणम् ॥

[परमात्मवर्णनम्[2]]

परानन्दमतं वक्ष्ये त्रैलोक्येपि सुदुर्लभम् ।
परमात्मा चेश्वरश्च जीवश्चेति पृथक् पृथक् ॥ १ ॥
नित्यानन्दः सुरूपी च दिव्यश्चेश्वरभावितः ।
ईश्वराणां स्वभक्तानां निग्रहानुग्रहक्षमः ॥ २ ॥

इति परमात्मवर्णनम् ।

1 P(ārānanda) S(ūtra), p. 1, Sūtra 19, p. 2, Sūtras, 20-31.
2 PS. 22.3, 5-39.

[परमानन्दलोकवर्णनम्[1]]

तस्य लोको महान् दिव्यः परमानन्दसंज्ञकः ।
यत्र गत्वा न यात्यत्र पुनः संसारमण्डले ॥ ३ ॥
[3A] मुक्ताश्च चेश्वरा यत्र रमन्ते च यथासुखम् ।
यत्र ध्यानासक्तचित्ता ह्यनिर्देश्यश्रिया युताः ॥ ४ ॥
इति परमानन्दलोकवर्णनम् ।

[ईश्वरलक्षणम्]

अपि त्वैश्वर्ययुक्तोसौ परात्मध्यानतत्परः ।
एतेन लक्षणेनैव युक्ता ह्युक्ता महेश्वराः ॥ ५ ॥
इतीश्वरलक्षणम् ।

[जीवलक्षणम्[2]]

ज्ञानवान् पुरुषोयं कर्ता सकलकर्मणाम् ।
मनसा च समायुक्तः तत्तदिन्द्रियसौख्यभुक् ॥ ६ ॥
पापं कुर्वन् नरकगः पुण्यं कुर्वन् हि स्वर्गगः ।
कुर्वन्न्युपासनामैशीं तत्तदीशस्य लोकगः ॥ ७ ॥
एतेन लक्षणेनैव युक्ता जीवा ह्यसंख्यकाः ।
[3B]इति जीवलक्षणम् ।

[सानन्दलोकवर्णम्[3]]

परानन्दैकदेशस्तु सानन्दश्चेत्युदाहृतः ॥ ८ ॥
कृतपापान् दुराचारान् कृतपुण्यांस्तथैव च ।
आगते प्रलये ह्येतान् सानन्दे स्थापयत्यसौ ॥ ९ ॥
वैष्णवा विष्णुना सार्धं गच्छन्ति परमं पदम् ॥ १० ॥

1 PS. 23.4, 42-92.
2 PS. 25, 22-4, 1. 6, 16-18.
3 PS. 26. 26-7.

[सृष्टिप्रकरणम्]

परमात्मा कदाचित् स ब्रह्माण्डमसृजत् प्रभुः ।
परात्मा ज्ञापयामास जगत् कर्तुं महेश्वरान् ।
कृतायुताश्च मेध्यं तु जीवसानन्दसंस्थितम् ॥ ११ ॥
सर्गस्य कारिणं देवं ब्रह्माणमकरोत् परः ।
पुण्यभारो यथा यस्य तथा तस्मै ददौ ततः ॥ १२ ॥
[4A] विष्णुत्वं वा शिवत्वं वा परात्मा भक्तभावितः ।

केचिदीश्वरानेवं मन्यन्ते ।

[1]जगत्यस्मिन् शून्यमये ह्यागता ईश्वरास्तु ये ॥ १३ ॥
ध्यायन्तस्ते परवपुर्जपन्तः परमं मनुम् ।
नीत्वा तु कतिचित् कालान् ब्रह्मा ब्राह्ममवासृजत् ॥ १४ ॥
लोकं दुष्टैस्तु दुष्प्रेक्ष्यं तपसा दिव्यमुत्तमम् ।
चक्रुः स्वकं स्वकं लोकमेवमीशास्तपोन्विताः ॥
[2]तत्र स्थित्वा ब्रह्मदेवस्त्रीन् लोकानसृजत् प्रभुः ॥ १५ ॥
आकाशाद् वायुमसृजत् वायोरग्निं चकार सः ।
चकारैवं त्रिलोकीं तां पुण्यपापोचितां दृढाम् ॥ १६ ॥
तस्यां प्रवेशयामास जीवान् सानन्दसंस्थितान् ।
पापान् जीवांस्तु ब्राह्मस्थस्तिर्यग्योन्यामपातयत् ॥१७॥
राजसान् मानु [4B]षे ब्रह्मा सात्त्वान् दैवे ह्यपातयत् ।
सृष्टेषु त्रिषु लोकेषु पञ्चतत्त्वात्मकेषु च ॥ १८ ॥
शक्रादिभ्यो हि देवेभ्यो ह्यधिकारान् ददौ प्रभुः ।
विष्णुस्तु पालयामास चोज्जहार तथा शिवः ॥ १९ ॥
गते बहुयुगे काले प्रलयस्तूपजायते ।
प्रलीनेषु च सर्वेषु दिव्या लोकास्तु चैश्वराः ॥ २० ॥

1 PS. 26. 38, 40.
2 PS. 27. 53-4, 74-77.

न नाशं प्रतिगच्छन्ति तपसा भाविताः शुभाः ।
[1]एवं गते बहुलये लोकांस्त्यक्त्वा महेश्वराः ॥ २१ ॥
स्वैः स्वैर्भक्तवरैः सार्धं व्रजन्ति परमं पदम् ।
तैस्त्यक्ता नाशमायान्ति लोकाः परपु··· ॥ २२ ॥
...   .
······[6A]गैंरए मुक्तिमिच्छन्ति योगिनः ॥ ३० ॥

[परानन्दमतवर्णनम्]

[2]तदोचुस्ते वसिष्ठाद्याः कुरु शिष्यान् कृपानिधे ।
आचार्यः परमानन्दस्तदोवाच महामुनीन् ॥ ३१ ॥
इयानेव विशेषोऽस्ति मन्मते मुनिसत्तमाः ।
न न्यासो न च हिंसास्ति जङ्गमस्य जडस्य वा[3] ॥ ३२ ॥
तदोचुर्मुनयः सर्वे यज्ञे हिंसाः श्रुताः शिव ।
शिव उवाच ।
अत एव मया प्रोक्तं मन्मते नास्त्यदो द्वयम् ॥ ३३ ॥
भाषणं त्रिविधं लोके युक्तं योग्यं च योजितम् ।
[6B]यदुक्तं गुरुणा वाक्यं सत्यमित्यवधारयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
न तत्र तर्कः कर्तव्यो न युक्तिर्नाथ नौचितिः ।
यद् यद् ब्रूयाद् गुरुः साक्षात्तत्तत् कुर्यादसंशयी ॥ ३५ ॥
इदं तु भाषणं युक्तं द्वितीयं परिकथ्यते ।
ध्वन्यर्थकं तु योज्यं स्याद् योजितं विजिगीषवः ॥ ३६ ॥
कुर्वन्ति भाषणं विप्रा वादिनो वादतत्पराः ।
न युष्माभिर्मया योज्यं योजितं नापि भाष्यते ॥ ३७ ॥
मया[7A] युक्तं भाषणं तु क्रियते सर्वदैव हि ।
श्रोतव्यं चेच्छृणुध्वं भो नो चेद्गच्छत मा चिरम् ॥ ३८ ॥

1 PS. 26. 37.
2 PS. 91. 21-26.
3 These lines (32b, 41b, 42a) are found also in PS. 8. 74-5.

इत्युक्त्वा मुनयः सर्वे ववन्दुः पादपङ्कजम् ।
अब्रुवन् भो जगन्नाथ ह्यस्मासु त्वं कृपां कुरु ॥३९॥
नास्माभिस्तु कृतस्तर्कस्त्वद्वाक्ये पुरुषर्षभ ।
परन्तु श्रु[7B]तिवाक्यस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्विचार्यते ॥४०॥

शिव उवाच ।

जङ्गमस्य जडस्यापि हिंसा नैवास्ति मन्मते ।
हिंसां कुर्यात्तु विहितां जडस्यैव न चान्यतः ॥४१॥
आलभेत च्छागवरं यत्र स्यात्तत्र पैष्टकम् ।
पप्रच्छुर्मुनयः सर्वे साद्यादीन् स्वमते वद ॥४२॥
[1]तदोवाच शिवः साक्षात् सादिसान्तयतं[मिदं ?]जगत् ।
अना[8A]द्यनन्तः परमो जीवश्चेशो मते मम ॥४३॥
परमानन्दलोकश्च तत्रस्थास्तरवो जलम् । इति ।
साद्यनन्तानि दिव्यानि शरीराणि च मन्मते ॥४४॥
भवेत् कर्म द्विप्रकारं सञ्चितं क्रियमाणकम् ।
साक्षात्कारो यदेशस्य जीवन्मुक्तिस्तदेष्यते ॥
आकाशश्च परिच्छिन्नो भिन्नाश्चैवाणुशो परे ।
इति श्रुत्वा मतमिदं मुदिताः पुनरब्रुवन् ॥४५॥
[8B]कुरु शिष्यान् दक्षिणे त्वं मार्गे सर्वोत्तमे शुभे ।

[वसिष्ठादिदीक्षाविवरणम्]

शिव उवाच ।

न दीक्षया विना मार्गं दद्यात् कश्चित् क्वचिच्छुभम् ॥४६॥
तस्माद् यूयं मुनिश्रेष्ठा भवध्वं दीक्षया युताः ।
पप्रच्छुस्ते वसिष्ठाद्या वद दीक्षास्तु कीदृशीः ॥४७॥

1 PS. 28. 95-100, 6-8 ; 29. 14.

शिव उवाच ।

आदित्या ... ... ।

... ...

[10A]अदीक्षिताय यो दद्यान्मन्त्रं वा मार्गमुत्तमम् ।

स भवेन्नरके घोरे वर्षाणामयुतं समाः ॥५७॥[1]

यथा ह्यनुपनीताय कन्यां दद्याद् विमूढधीः ।

तथा ह्यदीक्षितायैनं ददन्मार्गं पतेद्गुरुः ॥५८॥

अथ ।

द्विद्वादशदिनेष्वेव स्थिता वै दीक्षया युताः ।

निर्वर्त्य दीक्षां ते सर्वे शिवपादेपतन् द्विजाः ॥५९॥

उत्थाप्य तान् मुनिश्रेष्ठान् शिष्या[10B]न्मन्त्रैरयोजयत् ।

श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तान् धर्मान् कुरुत चानघाः ॥६०॥

न्यासं सन्त्यज्य पूजादि कार्यं वै मन्मतस्थितैः ।

दीक्षया शुद्धचित्तत्वान्न न्यासस्तूपपद्यते ॥६१॥[2]

परानन्दमतप्राप्तिर्यावन्नैवोपजायते ।

तावन्न्यासो यज्ञविधौ जङ्गमस्य च हिंसनम् ॥६२॥

परानन्दमते प्राप्ते न कुर्यात्तु त्विदं द्वयम् ।

श्रुत्यन्तर्वर्तिनामेव ह्यधिकारो मते मम ॥६३॥

... ...

... ...[12A]स्मार्तमार्गावलम्बिनः । इति ।

गृहान् गत्वा मतं सर्वे वर्धयमासुरञ्जसा ।

[नारदादिदीक्षाविवरणम्]

[3]नारदाद्या ह्यगस्त्याद्याः प्रणिपत्याब्रुवन् शिवम् ॥६८॥

अस्मभ्यं तु कृपासिन्धो वामाचारं प्रदीयताम् ।

ततस्तेभ्यो दीक्षितेभ्यो वामाचारं ददौ शिवः ॥६९॥

1 This and the following verse are found also in PS. 13. 89-90.

2 Four lines beginning from the present one are also found in PS. 8. 80,79.

3 PS. 91. 27.

श्रुत्यागमाभ्यामुक्तांस्तु धर्मान् मच्छास्त्रसम्मतान्[1] ।
उपासध्वं मुनिश्रेष्ठास्ततः सिद्धिमवाप्स्य [12B]थ ॥ ७० ॥
वामाचारो द्विप्रकारो मध्यमोत्तमभेदतः[2] ।
उत्तमस्त्रिमकारो वै मध्यमः पञ्चभिर्युतः ॥ ७१ ॥
मद्यमैथुनमुद्राभिर्युक्तोऽसावुत्तम स्मृतः ।
मद्यं मांसं च मत्स्यं च मुद्रिका मैथुनं तथा ॥ ७२ ॥
एतैस्तु पञ्चभिर्युक्तो मध्यमः परिकीर्तितः ।
परानन्दमत ... ...
......[14A]मपि वर्णानां ह्यधिकारो मतो द्वयोः ।
वामाचारे स्थिते शिष्ये नाथान्तं नाम कल्पयेत्[3] ॥ ७६ ॥
तेभ्यस्तु स्वमतं चोक्त्वा नामापि विदधे शिवः ।
प्रणिपत्य च ते सर्वे स्वान् स्वान् जग्मुरथो गृहान् ॥ ८० ॥
गत्वा गृहान् मतं सर्वे वर्धयामासुरञ्जसा ।

[देव-देवदेवादिदीक्षाविवरणम्]

[4]देवाख्यो देवदेवाख्यो द्वावृषी ह्यागतौ ततः ।
ववन्दतुः [14B]पादपद्मं दातृ यत् सर्वसम्पदाम् ॥ ८१ ॥

तावूचतुः ।

आवाभ्यां दीयतां मार्गमुत्तराख्यं सदाशिव ।
ततस्ताभ्यां दीक्षिताभ्यां ददौ मार्गं तु चोत्तरम् ॥ ८२ ॥
नेच्छेद्धनं मनुष्येभ्यो सेवावृत्तिं चरेन्न च ।
अयाचिताहृतं ग्राह्यमपि दुष्कृतकर्मणः[5] ॥ ८३ ॥
आनन्दान्तं चोत्तरे तु[6] ... ...
... ...

1 PS. 13. 6.
2 This line as also the line that follows the next line are found as one verse in PS. 13. 96.
3 PS. 13. 8.
4 PS. 91. 29.
5 PS. (19. 39-40), where also the verse occurs, reads ०ताद्रुतं in the third foot.
6 PS. 20. 78.

[राजधर्मप्रकरणम्]

[17A][1]क्रतुतुल्यानि युद्धे युद्धाभिमुखानाम्
सर्वदा नाधिकं यस्मात् प्रजानां परिपालनम् ।
चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थै[श्च] विशेषतः ॥
साधून् संमानयेद् राजा विपरीतान् [श्च] घातयेत् ।
य एव नृपतेर्धर्मः स्व[17B]राष्ट्र[परि]पालने ।
तमेव कृत्स्नमाप्नोति परराष्ट्रं वशं नयन् ॥
अदण्ड्यदण्डनं राज्ञः स्वर्गकीर्ति[प्र]णाशनम् ।
दण्ड्यदण्डनं राज्ञः स्वर्गकीर्त्तिजयावहम् ॥
अपि भ्राता सुतोर्ध्यो वा श्वशुरो मातुलोपि वा[2] ।
नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोस्ति धमाद् विचलितः स्वकात् ।
यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद् राजा सम्यग् वध्यांश्च घातयेत् ।
[18A]इष्टं स्यात् क्रतुभिस्तेन समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः[3] ॥

वानप्रस्थोपद्रवकर्तॄन् वन्यान् हिंस्रान् जन्तून् व्याघ्रादीन् हन्यादेव राजा । तानेव हिंस्रान् कालयग्रे बलिदानविधिना छित्त्वा बलिं समर्पयेत् काल्यै वा । तस्मादेष त्वच्छिष्योरीन् जयतु मृधे । इत्युक्त्वा वसिष्ठसु[18B]दर्शनाभ्यां पूजितोन्तर्दधे शिवः इति । सुदर्शनोरीनजयदिति ।

ईश्वराणां तपोभिस्तु भावितेभ्यो नमो नमः ।
जडेभ्यो जङ्गमेभ्यश्च देवेभ्यश्च नमो नमः ॥
परानन्दमतस्थस्तु यः पठेत् सुसमाहितः ।
कृत्स्नं तु स्वमतं ज्ञात्वा स्वेष्टलोकं व्रजेत् सुधीः ॥
अनेन प्रीयतां देवी महाकाली सुरार्चिता ॥

1 The remaining portion of the work appears to have formed part of the Sudarśana-Vaśiṣṭha legend (PS. 92. 31-32) which relates how King Sudarśana was permitted to take active part in battles.

2 This and the following line occur in prose form in PS. p. 98, lines 10-12.

3 This verse is quoted in PS. p. 99, lines 25-6.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 5, f.n. 16 and elsewhere—Read 'Prāṇatoṣaṇī' for 'Prāṇatoṣiṇī.'

Page 10, f.n. 17—Add 'For attempts at deciphering the Pre-historic Indus Valley Script with the help of the Tantric code cf. B.M. Barua, *B.C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 461 ff. and Swami Sankarananda, *The Indus People Speak*, Calcutta, 1955.

Page 16, f.n. 48—Add 'For Tantric rites and practices among the Buddhists see B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism* (London, 1932), S. B. Das Gupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950)'.

Page 16, f.n. 51—Add 'For Tantric rites and practices among the Jains see Jhaveri M.B., *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśāstra* (with special treatment of Jain Mantravāda) (Ahmedabad, 1944), U. P. Shah, *A peep into the early history of Tantra in Jain Literature* in *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 839ff.

Page 19, Sub-heading—Substitute 'Age' for 'Authorship'.

Page 22, f.n. 18—Read 'Kashmir' for 'Trivandrum Sanskrit'.

Page 24, f.n. 25—Add after *Āgamaprāmāṇya* 'edited by Rama Misra Sastri. Published by E. J. Lazarus Company, Benares. Reprint from the Pandit.'

Page 27, f.n. 40—Add 'Extracted from a copy of a manuscript of the *Pañcarātraprāmaṇya* in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.'

Page 39, f.n. 3—Add 'In this connection compare S. N. Das Gupta, *General Introduction to Tantra Philosophy* in *Philosophical Essays*, pp. 151ff; Swami Pratyagatmananda, *Philosophy of the Tantras* in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 437ff, G. Kaviraj, *Philosophy of Tripurā Tantra* in *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, Vol. IX, Section II, pp. 89ff, T. P. M. Mahadevan, K. C. Pandey and G. Kaviraj, *Śaiva Śākta Schools* in *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, pp. 369ff.'

Page 57, f.n. 35 and elsewhere—Read 'Studies in' in place of 'Studies on.'

Page 61, f.n. 11—Add 'A set of Śakti-sūtras numbering 113 ascribed to Agastya, apparently different from the one with 300 sūtras referred by Dikshitar, has been published by M. D. Shastri in the *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, Vol. X, pp. 182-87.'

Page 74, f.n. 25—Add 'Translated into English by R. Anantakrishna Shastry, Second Edition, Ootacamund, 1925.'

Page 75, line 2—Read 'Umānanda°' for 'Nityānanda°'.

Page 75, f.n. 34—Read '*Vividha-tantra*°' for '*Vividhārtha*°'.

Page 81, f.n. 3—Read 'other Purāṇas' for 'the Purāṇas.'

Page 89—Add the following foot-note to the Chapter Heading 'About Kālī worship in Kerala Dr. C. Achyuta Menon wrote a book in Malayalam published in 1943 as Madras University Malayalam Series, No. 8'.

Page 97, f.n. 9—Add 'Compare in this connection the accounts given in the *Devībhāgavata* (III .30.18-26, 41-61) and in the *Mahābhāgavata* (chapters, 36, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48)'.

INDEX

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